THE JOURNEY OF BEAUTY TOWARDS PERFECTION: ZAYNAB BINT ʻALĪ IBN ABĪ ṬĀLIB AND THE MODEL OF HUMAN CHANGES TOWARDS DEVELOPING ATTRIBUTES OF WALĪYAT ALLĀH AND AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL

A Thesis
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

---

by
SHAMEEMA ADIBZADEH
May 2013

Examining Committee Members:

Khalid Y. Blankinship, Ph.D. Chair of Graduate Studies,
Professor of Islamic Studies,
Department of Religion.

Leonard Swidler, Ph.D.
Professor of Catholic Thought & Interreligious Dialogue,
Department of Religion.

UMI Number: 1540237

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI 1540237
Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.
All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

©
Copyright
2013

by

SHAMEEMA ADIBZADEH

ABSTRACT

Human salvation is amongst the most important topic within all religions and schools of thought including Islam. To provide means for attainment of salvation religions delivered their teachings through scriptures and role models. Role models are not only believed to be chosen by God but they are also considered as the chosen people among their community who later follow them. When we compare the lives of such people what becomes evident is a pattern in their progression through which they advanced towards fulfilling God's purpose for the creation.

As this pattern is called a journey towards perfection (*kamāl*), the journeyer undergoes changes within their inner nature and personality. These changes occur within the limits of the finitude one is born into, and results in development of different attributes. As the individual advances in their spiritual progression, they eventually attain the station which is the point of the Perfect Man and are considered as the Perfect Individual (*Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*) and the Deputy of God (*Walīyatu Allāh*). This point of attainment of being an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* and *Walīyat Allāh* is tied in with the responsibility (*Risalah*) to guide humanity within their private journey. This *Risalah* can be universal similar to those of Muḥammad and Jesus (Peace be Upon on Them) or limited to one person. This thesis will argue that Zaynab bint 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, also, qualifies as *Al-Insān Al Kāmil* and *Walīatu Allah* according to the dominant theories on the concept of *kamāl* and the deep analysis of her journey towards perfection.

The study of Zaynab's attributes supports the claim about her *kamāl*, but she is not considered as infallible as are some of the other models. Although infallibility (pure from sins and errors) is not introduced as the requirement for *kamāl* by religions, one might wonder about the infallibility of role models especially in Islam. Thus, Zaynab remains the only figure of

early Islam who bridges Islam and other religions on the concept of *kamāl* by eliminating the element of infallibility as required by one who is considered *Walīatu Allah*. Thus, her life pattern demonstrates a journey towards *kamāl* attainable for everyone.

Although there is one narration which refers to her as *Walīyatu Allāh*, there are no available sources that analyze her journey towards becoming *Walīyatu Allāh* and reflects its importance in fulfilling her *Risalah.* Zaynab is emphasized throughout history as a strong figure who carried out the role of her brother Imām[i] Al-Ḥusayn after the battle of Karbalā by defending the true teachings of Islam and its valuable rules. Her importance lies also as the one who delivers eloquent speeches and saves the life of Imām Zayn Al-'Abedin. While she is known as one who "has to teach the way of Al-Ḥusayn, in the manner of ''Alī'[ii] the importance of how she became Zaynab, the *kamāl*, has been neglected throughout the centuries. Therefore, in this thesis I will study the pattern of her life with respect to her progression in the context of the attributes of *Al-Insān Al Kāmil* and *Walīyatu Allāh* to demonstrate the significant elements which made her a paradigmatic *kamāl.*

[i] Shī'ah believe in twelve Imām who spiritual leader known as successors of Muḥammad.
[ii] Sayed Akhbar Hyder. *Sayyedeh Zaynab*: *The Conqureror of Damuscus and Beyond Women of Kabala*. (Women of Karbalā: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourse in Modern Shi'I Islam), Ed. Kamran Scot Aghaie. (Austin:University of Texas Press, 2005), 171; Syed Al-Ḥasan Akhtar. (Austin, Texas: Al-Al-Ḥusayn ,), http://www.iec-houston.org/muharram.shtml (*accessed 27-Apr-2013).*

This Thesis is dedicated to
Zaynab Binti ‘Ali Peace of God be Upon her soul,
whose life story and journey towards perfection shaped my personality and constantly leaves me amazed at the strength and resilience of a woman’s heart and spirit.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Allah for allowing me to write about one of His Perfect *Walīyat Allāh* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, Zaynab Binti ʻAlī, Peace be Upon Her. His bounties and support throughout this work was the only reason for my being able to write on His Perfect Woman Zaynab (peace be upon her). I would like to acknowledge my father Dr. Bahman Adibzadeh, who was my first teacher and mentor and who supported my desire to carve a place for Muslims in my land of birth, the United States of America, its Academia and in the field of scholarship through my passion, talents and strivings. He was constantly my role model as an accomplished scholar and had a great impact on shaping my personality and opening my horizons to lofty desires and goals for accomplishment. He was my source of knowledge and wisdom as his advices led me through the hardships and struggles in my academic and personal journey in life. Simultaneously, I want to acknowledge my appreciation to my mother Fatemeh Sadat Mustafavi Ardestani, who is the embodiment of strength, striving and hope. As an highly educated woman, she is the primary motivator in my becoming an educated accomplished daughter, wife and mother. My parents have been my greatest cheerleaders throughout my academic and professional endeavors and it is only with their support that I have been able to accomplish this work.

My sincere appreciations to Dr. Ali Ruhani one of my first spiritual teachers and mentors since childhood and someone that I consider family. He was the first person who impressed upon me the importance of writing about Zaynab (peace be upon her) six years ago. He lent his generous and valuable assistance in everything from Islamic education to personal guidance throughout this research. For his help, I will eternally be grateful. My appreciation to Muḥammad Adibzadeh, Maryam Adibzadeh, Fatemah Adibzadeh, Zahra Adibzadeh, my

brother and sisters who constantly gave me their sincere love and positive energies mixed with a sweet sense of humor that kept me going. While my interest in Zaynab became their interest they constantly helped me by finding extra sources on my topic. Mrs. Zainab Edwards is among my precious supporters who cheered me emotionally and mentally towards writing of this work. I would also like to offer my ultimate thanks to my husband, Dr. Muhammad Khaleghifar, who joined my group of supporters in last two years of this work. He patiently supported me as an understanding partner. With his sacrefices I was able to complete this work.

I would like to recognize Allameh Sayyed Murtadha Asgari (may his soul rest in peace), who has left his mark as a distinguished scholar for ages to come. He taught me Islamic creeds and his influence shaped the cornerstone of this work. As my guide in the field of research in early history of Islam, he taught me how to find information and data from earlier sources. His unique skill in finding small and essential details was my source of inspiration throughout this work. I would like to thank my *Ostad* my Professor from my undergraduate and graduate years and my advisor: Khalid Blankinship. He gave me valuable writing advice that I still follow and helped me grasp the scope of my research throughout my graduate studies. Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Swidler, my other current academic advisor who provided me with the much needed critique and guidance to enable me to satisfactorily submit this work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ABSTRACT iii

DEDICATION v

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS vi

LIST OF MAPS x

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF LITERATURE 5

CHAPTER 3: METHODS 11

CHAPTER 4: THE JOURNEY OF KAMĀL FROM *AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL* 14

Importance of Role Models in Journey towards Kamāl 14

Role Models are considered as Perfect Man 19

Concept of Perfection; As depicted in Different Religions ... 21

Al-Insān Al-Kāmil and his Kamāl according Islam 24

Shī'ah's Approach of Kamāl based on evidence from Quran and aḥdīth 27

Etymological analysis of the word Kamāl with respect to Gender 28

Relation of Kamāl , Fiṭrah and Gender 29

CHAPTER 5: THE JOURNEY OF BEAUTY TOWARDS PERFECTION 32

Importance of Names in Islam and Importance of Zaynab's Name in Her Journey towards Kamāl 34

Different meaning of the word Zaynab 37
Zaynab's Attributes 40
Zaynab's Date of Birth and its importance 41
Zaynab's Grandfather Was the Last Prophet of Islam and a Universal Figure 43
Zaynab's Mother Fāṭimah Binti Muḥammad 49
Life with Zaynab's Stepmother, Ummul Banīn 59
Zaynab's Father 'Ali Ibni Abī Ṭālib 60
Zaynab's marriage with 'Abdullah Ibni Ja'far 64
Shahādah of Father 70
Zaynab and Imām Al-Ḥasan 73
Sister of Resistance along with Al-Ḥusayn Her Beloved Sayyed Al-Shuhadā 74
Zaynab in Maqtal 86
Zaynab's speech in Kūfah 93
Complete Route of Journey of Hostages From Kūfah to Shām 104
CHAPTER 6: ZAYNAB'S SPEECH IN RESPOND TO YAZĪD IN SHĀM 123
Commentary 125
Returning To Medina 140
Zaynab's Death and Uncertain Narrations about Her Shrine's locations 142
CONCLUSION 144
BIBLIOGRAPHY 151
APPENDICES 160
A. TABLE OF ZAYNAB'S FAMILY TREE ACCORDING LUNAR AND GORGIAN CALENDAR 160
B. ZAYNAB'S DATE OF BIRTH 161

C. CHART OF EARLY SOURCES USED FOR THIS THESIS TIME BASED 165
D. SPEECH OF FADAK BY FĀTIMA BINTI MUḤAMMAD 166
E. ‘ALI IBNI ABĪ ṬALIB’S WILL TO HIS CHILD ḤASAN 171
F. ANITA RAI’S PERMISSION TO USE HER TRANSLATION FOR THE KHUTBAH OF ZAYNAB IN YAZĪD’S PALACE..... 172

LIST OF MAPS

MAP. 1. COMPLETE ROUTE OF JOURNEY OF HOSTAGES FROM KŪFAH TO SHĀM

MAP. 2. LIST OF GATES IN OLD DAMUSCUS

MAP. 3. THE ROUTE WHERE HOSTAGES WERE LED INSIDE THE SHĀM

MAP. 4. MASJID L-JĀMI' AND YAZĪD'S PALACE

MAP. 5. GATES LEADING TOWARDS YAZĪD'S PALACE

MAP. 6. MASJID AL-JĀMI' SITE PLAN IN OLD DAMUSCUS

MAP. 7. YAZĪD'S PALACE SITE PLAN IN OLD DAMUSCUS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

According to the *ḥadīth*, when Zaynab was three, she shared a nightmare with her grandfather, the prophet Muḥammad, and he wept when the dream's significance was revealed to him.[3] The dream's revelatory message along with the meaning of her name provided a blueprint for Zaynab's life, thus shaping her identity. Her given name, according to Islamic tradition, directs her towards fulfilling God's purpose for her creation. In fulfilling the goal of her creation, she becomes perfect in accordance with her own personal capabilities. Her fulfillment of God's purpose is known as the journey towards Kamāl .

The journey towards Kamāl becomes a paradigm for all people seeking to fulfill their purpose. The struggles and achievements of her life become teachings for those who follow this path to qualified perfection. Although the tradition does not consider her *Infallible*[4], such as the *Ahl al-Bayt*,[5] who is incapable of both sin and error. Zaynab, on the other hand, is incapable of sin, yet she may commit errors. Since she is capable of making mistakes, the journey towards Kamāl is a realistic spiritual goal for anyone to

[3] J'afar Naqdi, *Ḥayāt Zaynab Al-Kubra*.(Qum: Maktabat Al-Mufīd,1362),18.
[4] In Shi'a point of view prophets before Muḥammad and Imams are *Infalibale* in Arabic described with the word 'Iṣmat. They distance themselves from major and minor sins. In adition they do not commit any errors which does not consider as extreme as sin and has no punishment in the day of judgment. Zaynab who is not among *Ahl Al-Bayt* is not consider an *Infalible.* Therefore, she is distanced from commiting major and minor sins. Never the less, she capable of errors. Biḥār Al-Anwār. Vol. 15, P.117, Ch.1 *ḥadith* number 63, Ḥillī, Sharḥ Fadhil Miqdād, Ch.11, P.152.
[5] The *Ahl al-Bayt* according to the Quran, is a group of five people: Prophet Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭimah Binti Muḥammad, her husband 'Alī ibni Abī Ṭalib and their sons, Al-Ḥasan Ibni 'Alī and Al-Ḥusayn Ibni 'Alī. Quran.33:33; Muslim Ibni Al-Ḥajjaj, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Vol. 031,*The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, Edited by John L.Esposito (Oxford Islamic studies online), Number 5955, http://www.oxfordislamocstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2057 (accessed 27-Apr-2013).

attain. The outcome of her journey, spiritual perfection, is referred to by different names in various religious traditions; in Islam, it is known as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, the Perfect Human.[6]

All religions provide some sort of path to salvation for humanity. Soteriological goals are detailed in scriptures and through a tradition's role models. Generally, non-Islamic role models are not considered infallible, such as Adam, Moses and John. However, in Islam Prophet Muḥammad and *Ahl al-Bayt* are the primary role models for Muslims and they are considered infallible. Zaynab provides a similar path to the *Ahl al-Bayt*as as a role model in Islam, but because she is not infallible, she becomes an ideal figure to follow that links other religious traditions with Islam through her.

Western Islamic scholars[7] see her as the one who immortalized the [true][8] Islam, and Islam immortalized her name especially from her actions during and after the battle of Karbalā. At the battle of Karbalā, the Imām Al-Ḥusayn, Zaynab's brother and the last surviving member of the *Ahl al-Bayt*, was killed by the rival Caliphate, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiah. Al-Ḥusayn's son, Zain Al-'Ābedin, and Zaynab survived the battle and were taken captive by Yazīd's forces. Zaynab witnessed the battle and afterwards saved Zain Al-'Ābedin's life so he could continue the Imāmate lineage. She immortalized Islam by assuring that Zain Al-'Ābedin lived through the struggles of their imprisonment and

[6] In the phrase *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, *Insān* is a masculine gendered noun in 'Arabic and is usually translated as Man, but it refers inclusively to all of humanity and does not exclude the female gender.

[7] "The last page of the book of martyrdom, Zaynab". Martyrs are eternal therefore; Zaynab remains eternal as she immortalize Islam. Sayed Akhbar Hyder. *Sayyedeh Zaynab*: *The Conqureror of Damuscus and Beyond Women of Kabala*. (Women of Karbalā: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourse in Modern Shi'I Islam), Ed. Kamran Scot Aghaie. (Austin:University of Texas Press, 2005), 171; Syed Al-Ḥasan Akhtar. (Austin, Texas: Al-Al-Ḥusayn ,), http://www.iec-houston.org/muharram.shtml (accessed 27-Apr-2013).

[8] The Caliphate of time Yazid Ibn-i-Mu'awiyah did not care about the practice of Islamic rules throughout the Islamic country. Therefore, the Islamic teachings of Muḥammad was about to be changed or forgotten. Thus by referring to true Islam I am referring to the actual teachings of Muḥammad which is been immortalized by Zaynab.

spread the truth with her speeches which contained the only accurate account of events of the battle. Thus, these speeches which stem from the true teachings of the prophet were given on the long route between Karbalā and Shām. She thereby, defended the authority of *Ahl al-Bayt* and their right to political leadership. In turn, she was immortalized in Islam by becoming a spiritual role model, and her struggles became the journey of Kamāl.

Despite her recognition during the second century A.H[9] as observed by Ahmad Abilfaḍl Ibni Abi Ṭahir[10] in *Balāghāt Al-Nisā,* Ṭabaqat Al-Kubrā by Ibni Sa'ad[11], Akhbār Al-Zaynabiāt by Al-A'bidlī[12] and Al-Ma'aref by Ibn-i-Qatibah,[13] early scholars, such as Ṭabari, poorly portrayed Zaynab and diminished her importance in the transmission of the tradition. Later scholars, such as Ṭūsī, place more emphasis on her speeches but refer to her as a background character in the narrative. While modern scholars see the importance of her actions during and after the battle of Karbalā and acknowledge her status as *Walīat-u-Allah* [14] or an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, they do not analyze how Zaynab becomes the *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil.* As a narrative that provides an ideal for people to emulate, Zaynab's life in its entirety is important and not just her life from the battle of Karbalā onwards because her entire life is seen as the journey towards perfection and not just its end.

In this thesis, I will argue that Zaynab was not just a defender of the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the protector of the life of the next Imām, but one who exemplifies a perfect woman

---

[9] A.H. After Hijrah.
[10] (204-280) A.H
[11] (230 A.H.)
[12] (227 A.H.)
[13] (282 A.H.)
[14] *Walīat-u-Allah* is the status given to one who has the right of Welayat (Devine authorship) from God. Muḥammad Baḥrul 'Ulum, *Seiri Dar Zeindegani Ḥaḍrat Zaynab*, (Tehran: Ḥikmat, 1369), 128.

and a universal role model, without being *Infallible*. She established a paradigm of Kamāl as a journey towards fulfilling one's 'goal of creation'[15], and presents it as a level that is attainable for all who wish to struggle and become a humble servant of God. Therefore, I will first define the concept of perfection through the necessity of role models as examples who have attained spiritual perfection. Furthermore, I will analyze Zaynab's journey toward fulfilling her goal of creation, which was her path of becoming a perfect woman within her limited capabilities as the one who is not among the *Ahl al-Bayt.*

[15]According the Quran the goal of creation for human is to 'become worthy of worshiping Allah.' (Quran, 56:51) This state of 'Ibādah has several stages and the more purified the human the more closer to his/her goal of creation. Therefore, the Perfect Human is one who attains the highest level of worship of Allah.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Even though Zaynab is a famous role model among Muslims, especially Shīʿah, there are no in depth analyses on her life that reveal the secrets in the method of her journey. The reason for the lack of complete, written version of her life is not all considered gender-related, because even famous male contemporaries of Zaynab do not have much written about them. Her life in particular has remained private for several reasons. The reason behind this can be analyzed in to three categories. In the first category the primacy of the narratives and the subjects therein eclipsed her as the messenger and she went on unnoticed. The second reason is her practice of *Satr*[16] as a modest woman. Finaly, the devotional approch of devotees in following her as a role model led to neglect of an in-depth analytical study of her journey.

Such a neglect can be explained also by Zaynab's emphasis on the other great people of her lifetime. Her grandfather is the prophet Muḥammad, her father ʿAlī is the first Imām, her mother Fāṭimah is the only child of the prophet and the teacher of women, and her two brothers Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn are the second and third Imāms. Even though her role is very crucial as a person who maintained their vital teachings, she locates herself in a humble second place in comparison to these role models. By narrating about them as the Voice of Truth,[17] she draws attention towards Muḥammad and his *Ahl al-Bayt*, and away from herself and her own life's journey. There are only a few

[16] Covered up or hidden

[17] Zaynab is known as the Voice of Truth for two reasons. Firstly she is reputed to have exact same tone and style of her father in delivering speechs. More over, she remained as the only voice from the family who could give the accurate account of the events of Karbalā. Hence as her face was in *Satr* in public she literaly became just the Voice of Truth. This narration of the story has since become ritualized in the Shiʿaī sects.

references to Zaynab in the oldest sources, and most of what we know about her comes from the later narratives of the story of Karbalā. Imām Zain Al-'Ābedin, Zaynab's nephew, "called her aunt *Walītu Allah.*"[18] Her authority was such in Kūfah,[19] that after the event of Karbalā and before she delivered her first speech, she silenced a noisy crowed of people and animals immidietly by raising one finger. This single report of *ḥadith*[20] is enough to demonstrate her greatness and raise the question of who she really was.

Another reason is that Islam values the important role a woman plays within her household and respects the privacy this implies. As a result, women remained in charge of the children, and their social activities, although tangible, 'were not directly visible to society.'[21] Since this is what Islam prefers for women, Zaynab's presence in society was productive, but it was never set up on display. This respect for her private life limited the number of accounts available that are indicative of her stature in history. Her private life remained in *satr*, and she was well-known as a modest woman of her time. This is why early historians cannot find many publicly-narrated early *ḥadīth* about her. One of the rare *aḥadīth*[22] that does mention her, narrated by Yaḥya Māzanī, emphasizes this. Māzanī was 'Alī's neighbor in Medina for a long time. He said, "I never heard the voice of Zaynab, nor saw her, although I was living next door."[23] When she intended to visit the grave of her grandfather at night, her father and her two brothers would accompany her

---

[18] 'Abdul Al-Razzaq Al- Muqarram. *Maqtal Al-Al-Ḥusayn* (Beirut, Lebnon: Kharsan Foundationm 1426 A.H./2005 A.D.), 311.
[19] Kufah is a city in current Iraq.
[20] In Shi'a point of view *ḥadith* can be narrated by Imams who are direct decendents of Muḥammad. Thus the chain of *ḥadith* from Imams originates from Muḥammad and not his companions. Never the less, the companions of the twelve Imams also narrate *ḥadith* as they would refer to the Imams.
[21] Quran 33:33.
[22] Plural of Ḥadīth.
[23] Naqdi, *Ḥayat Zaynab Al-Kubra*, 22. My own translation.

and place her in the middle of the group. In this way, no one could see her or her body, as she was also covered in her *Jalbāb*[24] from head to toe. "Arriving at the grave, they would blew out the lantern so no one would see Zaynab's face and her tears."[25] This level of *satr*, was provided for her by her family as per her wishes. Her practice of *Satr* reflect not only the covering up of her body, but is also indicative of a profounder layer that signified a preservation of a deep sacred interiority. Such practice envolves a depth of interiority for which very little become apparent to outsiders.

Another reason for the dearth of any analytical study of her life is the general devotional approach to her story. She was a well-known beloved personality beloved for her exceptional qualities that was evident throughout the events of Karbalā. Later devotees of Zaynab would mourn over the tragedies of Karbalā as a ritual which was initiated by her and passed down orally. This emotional connection to the tragedies she described was enough for them to follow in her footsteps and make similar sacrifices. Despite such powerful influence on posterity, unfortunately there has been no scholarly analatical study of her life. Such an analytical study would have enlightened us about the elements involved in Zaynab's Infallible journey towards Kamāl.

The above-mentioned ritual narratives became the strongest channel for spreading the truth about Karbalā and developed the devotional connection to Zaynab in the mainstream psyche. Hence they are important sources that reveal significant aspects of her character. However, this analysis will involve a study of Zaynab as represented in the *aḥadith* in which she is described along with other primary individuals around her. The

[24] *Jalbāb* is a black garment that covers from head to toe.
[25] Ibid.

focus will be on the *aḥadith* that are specifically about her. Added to this are the early and the later historical sources where Zaynab is mentioned.

As the only witness to the whole saga of Karbalā, one expects to see Zaynab as the main source for the narrations of this event. Yet, when looking at the main sources, there are only a few references of her transmission of the event. The earliest source that mentions the martyrdom of Al-Ḥusayn is Asrar Āli Muḥammad[26]which refers briefly to Karbalā's aftermath. Later on, Maqtal of Abi Mikhnaf[27] indicates the presence of Zaynab five times and portrays her role during the battle of Karbalā. Another important source is Ṭabaqat Al-Kubra[28] which includes the debate between Zaynab and 'Ubaidullah Ibni Ziad and her role in saving the life of the fourth Imām. The Balaghat Al-Nisa[29] includes Zaynab's three speeches: one in front of the people of Kufah, another in the mansion of Ibni Ziad, and the third among the Christian, Jews and Muslim scholars invited by Yazd in his palace.

Tarikh Al-Ṭabarī[30] remains one of the most important sources of historical evidence for both Sunni and Shī'ah about Karbalā. Ṭabari specifically mentions her by name twelve times and refers to her thirteen times as the sister of Al-Ḥusayn. This

---

[26] Sulaim Ibni Qays Al- Hilali who died 76 A.H. is considered as the Ṣaḥabi of 'Ali Ibni Abi Ṭaleb, Al-Ḥasan Ibni 'Ali, Al-Ḥusayn Ibni 'Ali, Zain Al-'Ābedin in his book *Asrar Ali Muḥammad*has mentioned about the martyrdom of Al-Ḥusayn and his family who were taken as histages.

[27] Abi Mikhnaf is considered as the Ṣaḥabi of J'afar Ibni Muḥammad known as Al- Ṣadeq who is considered as the sixth Imām. Therefore, his book has been authorized by Imām Al- Ṣadeq. While his original book is lost his work was preserved by his student Hisham Al-Kabi who died 204 A.H. later on, Ibn-i-Nadim, Najashi, Ṭabari and Biladhari have used his book as their main source. Sulaim Ibni Qays Al- Hilali, *Asrar Ali Muḥammad* (Chicago: Open School, 1998), 160, http://www.scribd.com/doc/73073275/Kitab-e-Sulaym-ibn-Qays-al-Hilali

[28] Muḥammad Ibni S'ad Ibni Mani Al-Baghdadi known as Ibni S'ad (168-230 A.H.). Muḥammad Ibni S'ad Ibni Mani Al-Baghdadi, *Ṭabaqat Al-Kubra* (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Khanji, 2001), 5333, http://ia700506.us.archive.org/8/items/eltabakat/tabakat.pdf

[29] Abilfaḍl Ahmad Ibni Abi Ṭahir known as Ibni Ṭayfur (204-280 A.H.). Abilfaḍl Ahmad Ibni Abi Ṭahir, *Balaghat Al-Nisa*(Cairo: Nafaqah Shariha, 1908),211, http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikisource/ar/6/6c/%D8%A8%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%BA%D8%A7%D8%AA_%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A1.pdf

[30] Muḥammad Ibni Jarir Ṭabari (224-310 .A.H). [30] Muḥammad Ibni Jarir Ṭabarī, *Tarikh Al-Ṭabarī Vol.9: The Caliphate of Yazid b. Mu'awiyah A.D. 680-683/A.H. 60-64* (Albany, State University of New York Press ,1990), 264, http://www.alsunnahfoundation.org/Academy/Karbalā.pdf

significant because she is mentioned by name much less than later sources and the focus in the narrative is largely on Al-Ḥusayn and not her. Ṭabari portrays her sorrow when he refers to her by name while he features her strength when he refers to her as Al-Ḥusayn's sister. He narrates the debate between Zaynab and 'Ubaidullah Ibni Ziad, which portrays her strength. Although Ṭabari mentions that she saves Zain Al-'Ābedin's life and includes two of her speeches, he does not include the main, politically oriented speech and uses her primarily as a conversational device to highlight the dialogue of other characters. The only two sources that include the third speech of Zaynab before Yazīd besides the book of *Bilaghat Al-Nisa* are *Maqtal Al-Kharazmi*[31] and *Luhūf*.[32]

This thesis will use four sources to describe her journey. The first source is the a*ḥadīth* that she narrates[33] on behalf of Muḥammad and the *Ahl al-Bayt,* especially from Al-Ḥusayn during the saga of Karbalā. The second source is *aḥadīth*, which contains Muḥammad, the *Ahl al-Bayt*, their *Ṣaḥabi*[34], and other Imāms' narratives about her character and her life. A third source is a written work on the event of Karbalā, which is the peak of Zaynab's public visibility. The fourth, the final and the most important source is the collection of her own eloquent speeches, which are proof of her attainment of Kamāl.

By a deep analysis of these four available sources about Zaynab's life, one can obtain a pattern of her journey towards Kamāl. This pattern suggests three main roles for

---

[31] Abu Al-Muayyed Muwaffaqe Ibni Aḥmad Al-Makki Akhtub Kharazm (D. 568 A.H.).
[32] Raḍi Al-Din 'Ali Ibni Ṭawūs (589-664 A.H.). Raḍi Al-Din 'Ali Ibni Ṭawūs, *Luhūf* (Tehran: Naba, 2003), 232, http://www.saaj-nbi.com/Lohoof.pdf
[33] Later historians, started to gather information about companion of Muḥammad at the time of early Islam. They would obtain their evidence through the sayings of Prophet and also through knowing about the narrators of these *aḥadīth* and their characteristics. Therefore, women who were among the Rowwat (narrators) are mentioned in history of early Islam and Zaynab is among them. There are indications of her narrations since her early ages as a Rawi yet there is less written on her private life.
[34] Sahabi means Companion.

her during the stages of her life, with the events at Karbala having the strongest influence on her journey towards perfection. Before the tragedy of Karbalā, she was the mellifluous "*Muḥadethah*"[35] [someone who narrates the Hadith, officially, received from prophet and then Imams] of her neighbor Moḥammed, a beauty to her parents Fāṭimah and ʻAli, a playmate of her brothers Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn, the "fair companion of Khadijah,"[36] Ummul Baneen[37] a loyal wife of ʻAbdūllah, a perfect mother, and the "'*Aqeelah*"[38] of the "Banī Hashem"[39]. This listing shows how deeply connected Zaynab was to famous contemporary figures of her time. In this stage of her life, Zaynab appears as a supporter of the people around her, from her family and friends to her larger community. Zaynab's ultimate manifestation took place within the context of the events of Karbalā, where her suffering peaked and she turned into an eternal voice of truth. It was during the event of Karbalā that Zaynab's tasks and responsibilities went in a different direction, and she acted as a devoted leader and guide to her fellow travelers. If not for her brave sacrifices during those events, truth would have been diminished in the battle of good against evil. In the final stage of her life, she remained the messenger of Karbalā and the messenger of truth, through whose explanatory voice and narrations of "*Maqtal*."[40] She represents the model of conquest in which words defeat swords, and thus she makes her unique mark within these chapters of history

---

[35] Narrator of sayings of Muḥammad.
[36] This was a term of endearment by prophet for his grand daughter. Khadijah is the first wife of Muḥammad and mother of Fāṭimah and grandmother of Zaynab. According narations Muḥammad ordered everyone to respect Zaynab as she resembles Khadijah a lot. *Zaynab Payam Resan Shahidan Karbalā* (Tehrn: Burhan, 1386).
[37] She is considered as the second wife of ''Ali and also Zaynab's step mother.
[38] Sage,Wise and knowledgeable scholar. ʻAli Ibni Ḥusay Al-Isfahanī Abul Faraj Iṣfahani, *Maqatel Al-Ṭalebin* (Online: Al-Mīlanī Foundation,2011) http://www.al-hakawati.net/arabic/civilizations/109.pdf
[39] Bani Hashim are the sons/children of Hashim is the tribe of Muḥammad.
[40] Maqtal is a place that someone is being killed, in this case the whole land of Karbala, specifically that one spot where Hussein was beheaded; second meaning is the develoment of this word later on where people after Zeinab and narrate. Maqtal is the descriptive narration of the story of Ḥussein's death and his seventy-two faithful companions who died during the battle of Karbalā.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The limited amount of sources about Zaynab has led to several debates about the historical details of her life, including the dates of her birth and death, and the location of her shrine. The main indications of her presence in history according to the books of *Sirah*[41] are related to the roles she played in the lives of the male figures around her besides her mother. Her grandfather, her father, her husband, both of her brothers, her children and her nephew are considered "*Nasl-i-Muhazab*."[42] She was considered a *Ṣaḥabi* of the Prophet, of Fāṭimah, and the four Imāms[43], and the crucial support for the five famous men in her family[44]. Her great role in history has led to her fame in contemporary times.

Due to the limitations of the sources, we also lack information on the different stages of her life. The earliest sources are mostly in 'Arabic, later translated into Persian and Urdu.'[45] These are often works on the general history of Islam. The main sources are collections of *ḥadīth.* As mentioned earlier, most of the references to Zaynab are in the context of the people with whom she lived, including Muḥammed (her grandfather), 'Ali Ibni Abī Ṭālib (her father), Fāṭimah (her mother), and Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn (her two brothers). These sources tell us about her time and location, as well as contemporary

---

[41]Life of Prophet Muḥammad and his biography is known as Sirah which contains his wars, travels, speechs and companions.
[42] descendants of the purified, as Mohammed is of Abraham
[43]She is consider as Ṣaḥabi of four Imāms; Imām 'Ali, Imām Al-Ḥasan, Imām Ḥusein and Imām Zain Al-'Abedeen.
[44] These five men after Al-Ḥasan Ibn-i- 'Ali, Al-Ḥusayn Ibn-i- 'Ali, 'Ali Ibn-i-Al-Ḥusayn Zain Al-'Abedeen are her husband 'Abdullah Ibn-i-Ja'far and her sons 'Ali Ibni-i- 'Abdullah, 'Awn Ibni-i- 'Abdullah, 'Abbas Ibni-i- 'Abdullah, Ja'far Ibni-i-'Abdullah and Muḥammad Ibni-i- 'Abdullah.
[45] You will find a chart on the different sources that mention various stages of Zaynab's life in Appendix one P.162.

events. The most extensive and important references are related to the tragedy of Karbalā and its aftermath.

The historical books do not cover a huge portion of her life and do not record many details about it, but there is enough to use them as a source. By contrast, analysis of the *aḥadīth* provides a much clearer understanding of Zaynab's life. Through critical comparison of these two kinds of sources, I will ultimately argue that Zaynab can be an intra- and even inter-religious envoy of truth as a woman who is considered perfect without being infallible.

The early sources I used for this paper may be found on a chart in the index. Among these sources are the works of Shī'ah scholars including Abu Mikhnaf, Abi Ṭaher, Mufid, Sayyed Ibn-i-Ṭawous, Ṭūsī, and Ṭabarsī. These cover the period up to the seventh century, and are contemporary with Sunni scholars like Belazarī, Ibn-i-Sa'd, Ṭabarī and Ibn-i-Ṭayfūr. A majority of these Sunni scholars' works also cover the period up to the seventh century and provide information about Zaynab's life similar to what is found in the Shī'ah works. After the seventh century, Shī'ah works contain new information about Zaynab's life, which was later used by Sunni scholars in contemporary works. As there are debates about the different stages of her life among different historical sources, I will begin by presenting one complete biography of her life from birth to death. This is presented so that we may explore and study the changes that Zaynab went through in her life, and how those changes led her, step by step, to fulfilling

the "goal of her creation"[46] as perceed in her tradtion. As these steps represent a journey towards Kamāl, they also reveal some of the characteristics of an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. In the second chapter, I will compare the attributes of an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* and Zaynab's changes on her journey towards perfection.

[46]The nature of intentionality bring the variation in the people's individual approaches. Zaynab is exceptional in the sense that her intentionality is naturally aligned to the archetypal pattern that is envisioned for such a goals of life. As such she is viewed as having fulfilled completly her purpose in this life.

CHAPTER 4

THE JOURNEY OF KAMĀL FROM AL-INSĀN TO AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL

"...O Allah! I ask You by Your perfect words
O Allah! I ask You by Your exalted perfection
And all Your perfection is perfect
O Allah! I ask You by all Your perfection..."[47]

Importance of Role Models in Journey towards Kamāl

Al-Insān Al-Kāmil, or "perfect human," is a status attained by all universal role models, including Zaynab. While becoming a perfect individual in this sense is not considered a goal by all religions, all chart a path towards some greater perfection of the self. In Islam, humanity is a precious creature of God, first chosen and honored when "God breathed into" his flesh from His own soul.[48] The human race was blessed by God, who Himself had "indeed shown him(the human) the way,"[49] and guided him in the form of different religions. All belief systems are designed with the primary purpose of guiding humanity towards "prosperity and salvation."[50] The purpose is universal, so "whoever wishes may take a (any) path towards his Lord."[51] One attains prosperity when one fulfills the goal of his or her creation through his or her chosen path. According to Islam's definition, the main goal of creation is to "worship and serve"[52] God humbly. Achieving this goal is possible for anyone, and it rewards the individual by uniting him

---

[47] Dua Sahar is recited during the in month of Ramadan and was originally narrated by Imām Muḥammad Bāqir. Rūh-o-Allah Khumeini, Sharḥ-i-Du'a Saḥar (Tehran: Intesharat Muasseseh Imām ,1370), 85.
[48]Quran 15:29. Also in Bible Genesis. 2:7 the word neshāmâh is referring to the soul of God as life blown into body of Adam.
[49]Quran 76:3. Similar content is found in Bible "This God his way is perfect; the word of the LORD proves true; he is a shield for all those who take refuge in him." Psalms. 18:30.
[50] "But now that you have been set free from sin and have become slaves of God, the benefit you reap leads to holiness, and the result is eternal life" Romans 6:22.
[51]Quran 76:29.
[52]Quran 51:56.

with God. At this point of unity, the reflection of God's soul within the human being makes him (or her) into a role model and a perfect being.

All religions, including Islam, use two main teaching tools as they try to guide humanity: holy books and role models. It is through scriptures that messages, creeds, laws and stories are explored and explained. *Suarah Al-'Ankabut* in the Quran is talking about divine texts when it says, "Believe in the Revelation which has come down to us and in that which came down to you (Jews and Christians); our Allah and your God is One."[53] Along with sacred texts, there are also men and women who are charged with explaining their contents. For example, in the Quran, God revealed to Muḥammad, "The same religion as He established for you is that which He enjoined on Noah ... and that which We enjoined on Abraham, Moses, and Jesus." [54] Chosen as messengers by God, they were chosen by the people of their time, as well. Each "attained perfection in his faith,"[55] and therefore achieved the status of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*.

In a manner similar to other religions, the content of Islam was presented through the holy book of the Quran, and Mohammad the messenger of God was the perfect representative of that content. As a humble servant of God, Muḥammad fulfilled the purpose of his creation. As the perfection of his inner self extended out to all humanity, he became *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. By fully practicing what he preached, he became "*Uswatu Al-Ḥasanah*"[56] for his community. As a living example of divine guidance, directly connected to the source of the revelation, he carried deep responsibilities for the guidance of humanity. Fāṭimah and 'Ali, along with their children Al-Ḥasan, Hussein, and Zaynab,

---

[53]Quran 29:46.
[54]Quran 42:13.
[55] Murtiḍā Muṭahharī, *Insān-i-Kāmil,* Ch.1, (Tehran: Intisharat Ṣadra, 1373), 1.
[56]Quran 33:21.He is known as the best example for his community to look up to him.

are recognized as role models who achieved the same status by following in the footsteps of Muḥammad's along the journey of Kamāl. Their achievement is so remarkable that Moḥammed refers to them as "his inheritors" and says that humanity has to "look up to them after the Quran."[57]

Zaynab grew up under the constant influence of five role models who were passionate about God and guided her towards perfection. During each stage of her life, from birth until death, she was blessed with the best examples of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, from her grandfather Muḥammad, to her parents 'Ali and Fāṭimah, and later both of her brothers, Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn. Schooled by the *Ahlul Al-Bayt*, the presence of her remarkable attributes in history demonstrates the importance these people played in her journey towards Kamāl. Ultimately, she became a Perfect Woman who, though not *Infallible*, continued the legacy of her role models by becoming a role model herself.

A journey towards perfection is suggested by all belief systems, and in Islam, journey towards Kamāl does not require one to be "*Infallible*."[58] Other religions also present the perfect man as a necessary *Quṭb*[59](pillar) of his time or era. These are role models who become "*Al-Ẓahir* (God's manifestation)"[60] among ordinary people while on their journey towards perfection. In attaining this status, one must not "betray his loyalty

---

[57]Ḥadīth of Thaqalayn. "Verily, I am leaving behind two precious things *(thaqalayn)* among you: the Book of God and my kindred *('itrah),* my household (*Ahlul Al-Bayt),* for indeed, the two will never separate until they come back to me by the Pond (of *alKawthar* on the Judgement's Day)." (alTabarani, *alMu`jam alkabir,* iii, 63, no. 2679; a lHafiz Ibn Abi Shaybah, as in *Kanz al`ummal* (1st ed.), i, 48; Ismā'il Ibni 'Umar Ibn Kathir Al-Qurashī Al-Damishqī, *Tafsīr* (Bulaq edition, on the margin of *Fath albayan),* ix, 115.

[58]Sayed Ḥeidar Amuli, *Jame'-o-Al-Asrar wa Manba'o Al-Anwar* (Tehran: Moasesseh 'Elmi Farhangi, 1368), 135-136.

[59]Al-Ḥasan Al-Ḥasan zadeh Ṭabari Amoli, *Insān-i-Kāmil dar Nahjul Balāgheh* (Tehran: Qiam Publication, 1368), 52. ; Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni 'Abdullah Ibni Hatam Ṭaei, Tahqiq 'Uthman Yaḥya, *Futuḥat Makkyyah*, Vol. 3, (Cairo: M'ahad Al-Derasat Al-'Ulia fi Al-Surbon ,1405), 105.
He is also known as Ibni Arabi.

[60] Ibn-i-Arabi refers to manifestation of God's Essenes through Al-Insān Al-Kāmil. Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni 'Abdullah Ibni Hatam Ṭaei, *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkyyah* (translated by William C.Chittik. Ch.317.)

toward knowing himself, which results in knowing God," according to Ibn al-'Arabī. [61] If he does so, he will no longer be considered an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*.

Although Islam does not emphasize *Infallibility*, all of the early role models of Islam are regarded as *Infallible*. Their *Infallibility* did not make them any different from "ordinary" [62] people in their journey towards Kamāl. The exception to the *Infallibility* rule among these early role models is Zaynab, although she still comes from a 'noble family.'[63] Zaynab's journey towards fulfilling the goal of her creation and becoming a perfect role model and a perfect woman is unique for several reasons.

One of those reasons is simply that Qeisari refers to her as one of the "only perfect role models among early figures of Islam" who is not considered *Infallible*."[64] By examining the stages of her life, one can claim that her journey of humble servitude turned her into a perfect role model and ultimately transformed her into a perfect woman. Throughout her life, she was known as someone who could unite values and beauty, even in painful moments. It was in the palace of Yazīd Ibn Mu'āwiah, the assassin of her brother and her both sons, that she declared that all "she sees from the martyrdom of her beloved ones and the hardships caused during and after the event of Karbalā is pure beauty."[65] Her remarkable impact continues into the present by bridging the gap between Islam and other religions as a role model who does not need to be considered infallible.

---

[61] Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni 'Abdullah Ibni Hatam Ṭaei, *Fuṣūṣ Al-Ḥikam*, Vol. 3, (Bairut, Lobnon: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Arabi, 1984), 145.

[62] Say, "I am only an ordinery man like you, to whom has been revealed that your God is one God. So whoever would hope for the meeting with his Lord- let him do righteous work and not associate in the worship with Lord anyone," (Quran 18:110.)This verse suggests that Muḥammadis no different from ordinary man who obtained the level of perfection and later chosen by God as His messenger.

[63] Zaynab's family is all considered as infallibles.

[64] Qeisari,*Sharḥi Fuṣūṣ Al-Ḥikam*, 121.

[65] Muḥammad Baqir Majlesī, *Bihar Al-Anwar Al-Jāme'atu leddurari Al-Akhbār Al-Aemmat Al-Aṭhar*, Vol. 45, (Beirut: Dar Al-Iḥya Al-Turath,),116.

She is not only considered a perfect role model for women, but also for men. "As in God all opposites co-exist, so in the correspondences one discovers the same antitheses in"[66] an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Zaynab's life has a distinguished pattern that both genders can adopt, because she was a successful leader who transcended the males of her time in her leadership qualities. Her ability to create a perfect balance in her private and social life, while retaining moderation, is astonishing. Her private life was defined by the roles assigned to her by Islamic teachings as a daughter, 'wife' and mother. [67] Her social roles were as a teacher, counselor and messenger of truth. Balancing her responsibilities and fulfilling them all properly makes her a role model for both genders.

Ultimately, she proves that women are capable of carrying out the holy task of being a messenger of truth in Islam. In the history of religions, the responsibility of conveying teachings about God is usually assigned to men. Zaynab stands out as a unique figure who had this social role as the *Nāib*[68] (deputy) of Imām, and carried a holy task of defending and preserving the true teachings of Islam. She reached this turning point in her life during the events of Karbalā and received her *risālah.*[69] "The history of Karbala is based on two pillars: the rising of Hussein and the rising of Zeinab."[70] It is through the events of Karbalā that Zaynab's social role becomes fully visible. She is a warrior who, though she never fought on a battlefield, defends her values with speech sharper than any

---

[66] Arnaldez, *Al-Insān al-Kāmil*, Online: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New ed. Vol. 3. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986. 1239-1241), Gale Virtual Reference Library, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2686304073&v=2.1&u=temple_main&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w (accessed 3 May. 2013).

[67] Zaynab was married to 'Abdullah Ibni Ja'far. Her marriage with Abdullah was blessed with five children known as ''Ali, Awn, Abbas, Abdullah and Umm Al-Kulthum.

[68] Zaynab was considered as Naib Al-Khaṣṣah (Special deputy) for Imām Al-Ḥusayn before his Martydom and people would refer to her for the religious rules regarding Ḥalal and Ḥaram. Abu Ja'afar Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Babawaih Al-Qumi, *Amali* (Tehran: Kitab Forooshi Islami, 1976).

[69] Responsibility.

[70] Muhjubah, 15:7 (1996): 29.

blade. At fifty-three, she traveled with her brother to oppose an unjust leader. During this trip, her brother, two sons and all the other male members of their army were killed and beheaded in front of her. Taken hostage with the other women and children, her response to the hardships of these circumstances is not like that of ordinary women. Zaynab's words, actions and attitude make her the messenger of the events of Karbalā and "*Warith-o-Al-Anbia*"[71]. While taken as a hostage along with other women and children, and dragged through out different cities and countries to purpose of humilation[72], Zaynab's approach towards these hardships due to the circumstances is not like an ordinary woman. She remains brave, strong and acts as an individual whoes ultimate goal is to only satisfy God. She is a woman, a messenger of truth, an heir of prophets and a role model who can be universal because she pursues perfection without any claim of *infallibility*. She is a perfect woman. As an individual who was trained by other role models, she becomes both a role model and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* herself.

Role Models are considered as Perfect Human

As guides to the path of human prosperity that all religions present, role models are the embodiment of religious teachings. The Quran refers to role models as prophets, messengers and 'viceregents of God.'[73] These titles are given to them because they always remain loyal to the goal of their creation. As a result, their souls, which are the Essence of God in a human body, unite with their origins. As Hallaj states, "God created humans in His own image."[74] Through unity with God, the perfection of God influences

[71]Al-Ḥafedh Rajab Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Rajab Al-Barsi Al-Ḥilli, *Mashareq Al-Anwar Al-Yaqeen* (Lahor: Welayat Misson Publishor), 51, http://www.scribd.com/doc/62601602/Mashariq-Al-Anwar-Al-Yaqeen-Urdu
[72] The deliberate purpose was to bring "dishonor" which has a deep implication as per the custums of the times.
[73]Quran 2:30.
[74]Muḥammad Y'aqūb Koleinī, *Uṣūl Al-Kafī*. Ed. 'Ali Akbar Ghaffari, Vol. 1, (Tehran: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islamyyah, 1363)134.

His servants, who act as a mirror of God, and are altered from chosen men and women into the Perfect Human.

This universal notion of the Perfect Human is mentioned in a verse from the Quran where God says, "And Allah taught Adam all the Names…" [75] This verse refers to the sacred Names of Allah, which were manifested to Adam, the first man and the first prophet. Such unity between God and a human was not limited to Adam. Much later, different prophets like Noah, Jesus, Moses, Abraham and 'Mohammad'[76], became worthy of the 'prostration of angels'[77] because of such unity. While these chosen men became the messengers of different religions, their message was based on a single truth.

As individuals who experience a journey towards perfection, these prophets became responsible for setting an example for their followers on their journey towards Kamāl. This journey consists of four stages that are defined by mysticism: "towards God, with God in God, with God toward God's creatures and with God among creatures for their salvation."[78] The first stage begins by purifying oneself in prayer and worship. This purification prepares the individual for unity with God. A soul thus united with God reflects God's attributes and functions as a chosen individual among His people. The last part of the journey, known as "Majesty,"[79] is infinite. Here, the Perfect Human becomes an eternal entity and role model.

---

[75]Quran 2:31
[76] "Read. Read in the name of thy Lord who created; [He] created the human being from blood clot. Read in the name of thy Lord who taught by the pen: [He] taught the human being what he did not know." Quran. 96:1-5.
[77]Quran 7:11.
[78]Muṭṭahari, *Insān Kāmil,* Ch. 1.
[79]"R. Arnaldez," Al-Insān al-Kāmil. (Online: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New ed. Vol. 3. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986. 1239-1241), *Gale Virtual Reference Library*, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2686304073&v=2.1&u=temple_main&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w (accessed 3 May. 2013).

As ‘Ali Ibni Abī Ṭalib points out, ‘having a role model is crucial to the follower’s destiny,’ for he provides a realistic path to follow that is in accord with revealed knowledge.[80] All religions, including Islam, oblige their people to follow in the footsteps of these perfect role models in order to accomplish the goal of their creation. Islam emphasizes that if “one dies without knowing the Perfect Human of his time, then one dies a death filled with ignorance.”[81] Following these role models, on the other hand, will lead the individual along the path of perfection, according to his or her capacity.

Concept of Perfection; As Depicted in Different Religions

The perfection of human beings is a concept that can be discussed within almost all religions and schools of thought. Some religions put more emphasis on this concept and the ways of attaining perfection, while others consider it a secondary goal. Although it is a common topic, the apparent differences in the different religions and the terminologies[82] used for that can be resolved in the figure of Zaynab.

Genesis 1:26-27 states that God has created man in His own image as one who will rule over the universe. The word “man” in the Torah refers to the potential, Perfect Human who has gained the Knowledge of God. As Kellner suggests, ‘this knowledge’ is obtained ‘through practical and moral, as well as intellectual, perfection.’[83] The perfection of intellect is emphasized by Maimonides’ esoteric position as “the highest

---

[80]The first role models that a child is exposed to are the parents where ‘Ali Ibn-i-Abi Ṭalib says, “Every child is born according to the original nature until his parents make him a Jew or a Christian.”(*Safinah al-Bihar*, vol.2, the item *‘fitr’)* Therefore the role models are those who shape the nature of the new born child and support him/her throughout this journey. Later on, the role models who can be either adopt by parents or the individual can be prophets, teachers, and scholars and so on.

[81] Koleinī, *Uṣūl Al-Kafī*, Vol. 1, 376.

[82] All these phrase despite of defining an apogee for human self and his perfection they also contain limitation within the same apogee. Refer to page 3 for the complete list of these terminologies.

[83] Menachem Kellner. *Maimonides on Human Perfection*. Brown Judaic Studies 202. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 186.

perfection to which a human can aspire."[84] Kellner suggests that the one who perfects both aspects is known as 'Torah' because 'he sees, thinks and acts' based on the commands of the holy book. When he recites Torah he is 'connected with God's intellect' simultaneously.[85] The seeker of perfection is on a journey where he must ignore his desire to do evil by following the words of God. This journey will lead him to the *Khair Al-A'la*[86] a position as a Perfect Human.

In Christianity, the concept of the perfect man originates from the same chapter in Genesis, but Jesus is the only representative of this concept. Although the verse originally refers to Adam and Eve, their sin weakens their holiness, and they are no longer able to hold a position of perfection. Jesus, however, is an *infallible* and perfect man in body and spirit, and no one else has ever achieved this status. Genesis 1:26-27 allows for an interpretation that generalizes the concept of perfection as a status that is possible for all. Since the verb used in this verse is plural, Augustine suggests that "humanity did not lose his holiness after the fall."[87] In addition, Jesus' sermon in which he calls upon his followers to "become perfect as your celestial father is,"[88] emphasizes achieving perfection as a promised opportunity available to each and all. The words "be perfect" in this verse are translated from Greek. The Greek word *teleios* refers to the completeness of Christian character as a Perfect Human. This is a journey, in which *teleios* is the goal and the traveler is completed through Jesus, who is the embodiment of Christian love and

---

[84] Menachem. *Maimonides on Human Perfection*. P.3.
[85] Alan Unterman, *The Jews: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (Portland, Oregoen: Sessex Academic Press,1999) 53.
[86] Parable of the Palace. Kellner, *The Jews: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices,* 14.
[87] Majma Al-Kanaes Fi Al-Sharq-i- Al-Adna. Vol.1. P.33.
[88] Matth. 5:48.

laws. Following him as a role model purifies a man from committing sins and from his previous sins, and transforms him into a perfect man.

From a philosophical point of view, as Nietzsche uses the word *power* to refer to Perfect Human. In Buddhism, this concept was represented by ideal or complete man, an "*Arhat.*"[89] In Islam, this concept is mentioned in the Quran "as *Khalīfatu Allah,*[90] *Waliy Allah*[91] or *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*"[92]. Islamic mystisim refers to *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* by *Pīr*.

Although the concept of the phrase *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* is represented by different terminology, all of the terminology shares major, common attributes. As an important concept tied to humanity's salvation, it bridges the gaps among different religions and schools of thought simply because it is such a favored topic. Delving into the concept of the Perfect Human, one realizes the Essence of the Creator as He who designed religions for the sake of His favorite creatures. This realization leads the journeyer towards obedience with respect to laws and turns him into a humble individual. As a result, the journeyer achieves unity with God: "His intellect", "His attributes", "His soul". While Islam holds a similar position regarding human perfection, the role models who are portrayed as perfect are also considered *infallible*. This difference raises the question of whether or not Islam considers perfection achievable by normal human beings.

The answer to this question is Zaynab's journey towards perfection,because she is recognized as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* without being *infallible*. All of the other early role models of Islam are *infallible*, but Zaynab is not. This allows her to build a bridge to other religions by creating unity between Islam and other religions on the question of the

---

[89] Worthy one. Asian Journal of Women's Studies. Seoul: Spe 30, 2002. Vol. 8, Iss. 3; P.8.
[90] Successor of Allah, God's Vicar. Quran 24:56.
[91] Wali refers to an individual who auther-ship by God's permission.
[92] This ter mis mentioned by Motahhari with the term *Insān-i-Kāmil* and Ibn al-'Arabi with the term *Al-Insān al-Kāmil*; (Tehran: Astiani 77.1, 1987) 43-54.

perfectibility of human. In addition, this heir to prophets who achieved the same status as her *infallible* role models, was a woman. As a practical example, she eliminates the biggest differences between Islam and other religions in regard to the attainment of Kamāl.

Al-Insān Al-Kāmil and his Kamāl according Islam

Islam refers to humanity as those who were chosen to "inherit the soul of God,"[93] and as suitable candidate for "the role of *Khalīfatu Allah.*"[94] This role is reffered to in the Quran as *taklif* (duty), which "the heavens and earth had rejected to carry its burden due to their fear."[95] The Quran also portrays the destiny God intends for man as "well pleased and well-pleasing."[96] These verses portray the journey of Kamāl of an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* from birth to death and afterwards. This journey shows the respect and love God has for humans, and their favored position in the universe. God even refers to humans as "light." As Arnaldez states, "in two passages (9:32 and 61:8) it is written that, in transmitting to men, God gives His light a complete perfection."[97] This complete perfection is interpreted as a transference of light into the heart of the believer, which elevates him to a to the status of a Chosen Human. In this verse, the verb *Yuttimmu* (to complete) is synonym with the verb *Yukammilu*(to complete in perfect format). The translation of this verse conveys the meaning of *Yukammilu,* God giving His attribtive light perfection. Light is one of God's names, and it is one of His attributes as well. The verb is translated with respect to this attribute, as a reflection of His perfection.

---

[93]Quran 15:29.
[94]Quran 2:30.
[95]Quran 33:72.
[96]Quran 89:28.
[97] "R. Arnaldez," Al-Insān al-Kāmil. (Online: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New ed. Vol. 3. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986. 1239-1241), Gale Virtual Reference Library, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2686304073&v=2.1&u=temple_main&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w (accessed 3 May. 2013).

In *Naḥw*[98] any words next to Allah or one of His attributes gain God's perfection or reflects His perfection. Examples of this are found in the terms *Khalīfat-u-Allah* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. In the term *Khalīfatu Allah, Khalīfah* is translated as the successor, vicar and deputy of Allah. The *Khalīfah* gains his status by his relationship to God, demonstrated by proximity to the word Allah. Therefore, as Amolī states, "The person who has this status gained power by God to rule over His creatures and captures heaven and earth."[99] Following the same pattern demonstrated in the verse about light, the *Khlīfatu Allah* is the reflection of God's rulership over the universe. Similarly, in the term *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, Insān can be translated as humanity or mankind, and Kamil refers to God's attribute of perfection. As a result, *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* is a perfect man with respect to Allah.

This term *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* didn't exist in Islamic literature until Muhyī Al-Dīn Ibn 'Arabīal-Andalusī Al-Tā'ī[100], (560-638), the father of Islamic mysticism, used it for the first time in the 7th century AH/13th century CE. He gives an in-depth explanation of the term in both of his books, Al-Futūhāt Al-Makkiyyah[101] and Fosūs Al-Hikam.[102] Azīz Al-Dīn Nasafī (630-700) chose the term as the title of his collection of twenty-two Risālāt of Islamic mysticism in Farsi.[103] 'AbdulKarīm Al-Jīlī (805) wrote a book with the same title. Among all mystic scholars Al-Ḥusayn Ibni Mansūr Hallāj (242-309) is the first mystic scholar who refers to the traveler on the path of Kamāl as the full manifestation

---

[98] The science of 'Arabic grammer.
[99] Al-Ḥasanzadeh Amoli, Insān-i-Kāmil dar Nahjul Balāgheh, 52.
[100] Ibn al-'Arabi was a mystic who drew on the writings of Sufis, Islamic theologians and philosophers in order to elaborate a complex theosophical system akin to that of Plotinus. He used philosophical terminology in an attempt to explain his inner experience. ("zendeginameye Ibn-i-Arabi" Ibn-i-Arabi's biography, P.2.)
[101] The Meccan Illuminations . Indeed, the term occurs 89 times in *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkyyah* by Ibn 'Arabî
[102] The Bezels of Wisdom.
[103] Nasifi, Aziz (online; Encyclopædia Iranica, 2012), available at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/zarinaia (accessed 11 Jan. 2013).

of the Divine attributes. He was followed by BaYazīd Bastamī (234-261), who referred to the perfect man as *Al-Kāmil Al-Ttām*.[104] Islamic mysticism views the concept of Kamāl as originating from the Quran, but manifestation of Kamāl in *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* leads to two different points of view about the possibility of attaining such a status. The first group believes that Muḥammad was the only one who could attain this status, and the second group believes that *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* is possible for all humanity.

In the Sunni school of thought, this phrase only belongs to the last prophet of Islam, Muḥammad, as the only sinless man. Human beings sin, so there is no one else who can attain to the perfection of sinless Muḥammad. This position is explained in-depth by ʻAbdulkarim Al-Jīlī in the book of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil fī Ma'refat Al-Awāel wa Al-awākher* where for fifty nine chapters, he discusses the attributes and qualities of a Perfect Man. In the sixtieth chapter, he refers to "Muḥammad as the only Perfect Man who is perfect in moral, ethics religion, and worship."[105] Furthermore, Al-Jīlī refers to the status of Muḥammad as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* with respect to other creatures, angels, and the whole universe by his heart as "'*Arshu Allah*."[106] He describes that Muḥammad's heart is the place where one can find the reflection of God's creation, and that because of this he was worthy to behold the Names, Attributes and dominion of God as a "*Qutb*"[107] around which the whole universe revolved.

While the Sunnis use this term only to refer to Muḥammad, the Shiʻah approach the concept differently. They believe in perfection for everyone by the will of Allah, as mentioned in the Quran and *aḥadīth*.

---

[104] Jahangiri, 1367, P.325; Muṭaharī, 1378, Vol. 23. P.99; Nasri, 1376, P179.)
[105] ʻAbdulKarim Al-Jīlī, *Al-Insan Al-Kamil fi Ma'refat Al-Awael wa Al-awakher* (Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Kutub Al-ʻIlmyyah), 207.
[106] Empyrean of God. ʻAbdulKarim Al-Jīlī , *Kashfu Al-Khafa* Ch.2. P.130.
[107] Axis. Al-Jīlī. *Al-Insan Al-Kamil fi Ma'refat Al-Awael wa Al-awakher,* 210.

Shī‘ah's Approach of Kamāl based on evidence from Quran and aḥdīth

As the Quran suggests, a human being's attainment of Kamāl is synonymous with fulfilling the purpose of his creation, becoming a humble servant of God by "worshipping God."[108] Worship purifies his body and enables his soul to delve into the 'realm of Ghaib.'[109] Awakened to the unseen world, he is set free of the limitations of his body while united with God. This unity, as Rajabi states, results in having access to God's attributes as *Khalīfatu Allah,* as one "who is in charge of the whole universe."[110] As mentioned in Quran 2:30 and 2:165 *Khlifatu Allah* is the manifestation of God on earth. At that point, the person's responsibility is to set an example as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* for his fellow journeyers on the path to Kamāl. These verses reveal that God created humanity to reflect his perfection in the world, and that man has the potential to elevate his trapped soul to the level of Kamāl. He not only breaks the boundaries of flesh, but becomes the voice of God in the universe. Human authority, according to the scripture, exists to the extent that man can capture all beings and all things with God's permission. The desired status of humans, as stated in the Quran, is God's ultimate expectation that we will be vicars of the whole universe. That status, which was never given to angels or any other creatures, is known to be solely for humanity.

According to Shī‘ahs scholars, Kamāl is achieved with respect to the different levels of abilities divinely endowed to individuals. From the Shi‘ah point of view, a seeker of perfection is not trying to become as perfect as the Prophet Muḥammad. He is trying to become his perfect self, fulfilling God's expectations for him with the abilities

---

[108]Holy Quran, 51:56.
[109]Unseen world.
[110]Mahmoud Rajabi, *Insan Shenasi* (Tehran: Imām Khomeini Educational and Research Institute, first edition, 2001), 135.

God endowed him with. Different people attain different levels of perfection, so their journeys toward Kamāl are not the same. All of the examples of prophets and messengers mentioned in the Quran reveal the differences in their abilities and the different challenges of their journeys. These differences in their journeys toward Kamāl demonstrate the possibility of such attainment for everyone.

Shī'ah's approach towards *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* does not only rely on the verse of the Quran. Other aspects of this term are illustrated and discussed through *aḥadīth*. One of the famous *aḥadīth* on this phrase refers to the role of gender in attaining Kamāl. In this *ḥadīth*, Muḥammad, referring to his daughter Fāṭimah, says, "The light of heaven and sky was made for her sake."[111] This means that she was so great in spirit and mind that God Himself, as a reward, created the whole universe for the light of her existence. Although Fāṭimah is neither a prophet nor an Imām, she is considered infallible. This hadith conveys the fact that Muḥammad was not the only person with the status of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. It also contains an important message about the role of gender in perfection.

Etymological analysis of the word Kamāl with respect to Gender

Etymological study of the word Kamāl demonstrates the belief that perfection was equally available to both genders. In the Arabic language, there are masculine and feminine gender suffixes for every word, but Kamāl is considered genderless, and all of the suffixes for Kamāl are genderless.

One of the most important elements in perfection is achieving balance between the mind and heart. An individual who can master his or her mind and heart at the same

[111] Ḥadīth of Muḥammad. Muḥammad Ibni Ḥasan Ibni 'Ali Ibni Ḥusayn Al-'Āmelī Al-Mashgharī, *Wasael al-Shi'ah* (Beirut: Dar Al-'Ihya Al-Turāth), Vol. 10. Number 3.

time can reach perfection. As Muṭṭaharī suggests men and women are "equal in the ability of mindfulness and passion,"[112] although according to the Quran they differ in their level of *Taqwā.*[113] Ibni 'Arabī attributes this title of Perfection for both genders. As evidence for this he refers to the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad that illustrates that "Mary daughter of 'Imrān, Āsiah wife of Pharaoh, Khadījah his own wife and his daughter Fāṭimah" [114] are figures of perfection. These great women have been recognized as important figures throughout the centuries. They attained perfection by sacrificing their lives, wealth and children. Their lives reflect their journey towards Kamāl, which includes suffering, sacrifices, and serious physical and spiritual practices. It is an important aspect on the journey of Kamāl to become fully human. To become fully human is to be in state of gratitude towards God. In order to become *Khlīfatu Allah* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil,* an individual is required to follow Divine orders in such a way that satisfactions of the two are alligned.

Relation of Kamāl , Fiṭrah[115] and Gender

Islamic sources regard *Fiṭrah* as a necessary element of perfection. *Fiṭrah* is human nature or essence, created by God and shared equally between men and women. As this divine essence takes over the wild desires of the individual, he or she attains moderation and Kamāl. As both genders have the same *Fiīrah*, they are both eligible and worthy to attain Kamāl. Kamāl of humanity requires the self cultivation of each human's *Fiṭrah* to its Kamāl which goes equally for both genders. As part of this process, each

[112] Insan-i-kamel "has two wings on the path of perfection which he needs to train them simultaneously and they are the mind and the heart. Motahari, *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, 130.
[113] Piety.
[114] Davud Qeisari, *Shari Fuṣūṣ Al-Ḥikam* (Tehran: Intesharat 'Ilmī Farhangī, 1994), 121.
[115] Essenes and nature of human which is mentioned in the verse as God states, "Then set your face upright for religion in the right state-the nature made by Allah in which He has made human; there is no altering of Allah's creation; that is the right religion." Quran. 30:30.

individual attains his or her private "goal of creation"[116] and becomes *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Eventually, *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* attains the goal of serving his or her own people, on *Khalīfat-o-Allah*. At this stage, he or she is responsible for guiding humanity, as one in charge of the universe.

As the best *Khalīfatu Allah*, Muḥammad was also responsible in educating others to become *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. We can see the examples of men and women who were guided by Muḥammad towards their goal of creation, which implies the perfection of common *Fiṭrah* shared by both genders. Among the seekers of Kamāl who were men, ʻAli, and later his two sons Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn, became great spiritual leaders of their society, and are reffered to as Imām[117] by Shīʻah. Among women, Fāṭimah and Zaynab attained the status of perfect woman. Studying the lives of these great role models reveal three important facts with respect to *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*.

The first fact is the importance of the individual's role in attaining Kamāl. The seeker of Kamāl must persue purification by practicing his or her religion. This first step is necessary for further achivements.

The second fact is the importance of reproducing *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* in consecutive generations. According to scholars, this is one of the main attributes of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* who, as *Khalīfatu Allah,* plays a decisive role in other people's salvation. Most Muslims, especially contemporary Shīʻahs, look to the role models of early Islam to lead their children on the journey towards Kamāl. In doing so, they tend to forget their primary responsibility to educate their children about the first fact of self cultivation.

---

[116] "And I did not create Jinn and Human except to worship me" Quran. 51:56.

[117] While Sunni respect these figures as highly educated individuals in terms of religion, Islamic law, Islamic ethic, morality and intelligence Shīʻah elevate them to the higher status of Imāmah. Zaynab on the other hand is not considered as an Imām yet she is praised and known as one who followed their footprint and supported her Imāms unconditionally.

The third fact is that the path of Kamāl is not an easy journey, and if not for the sake of the role models and their mentorship, the success rate would be dramatically low. Completing this path is impossible for one who does not have the assistance of the Prophet or his disciples to be in God's Grace. This is how one learns the characteristics of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* in order to distinguish the right path, and to follow in the right footsteps.

While there are so many examples from the lives of Muḥammad, 'Ali, Fāṭimah, Al-Ḥasan, and Al-Ḥusayn that demonstrate the different characteristics of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, Zaynab's life provides her own distinctive examples that the others do not. Significantly, Zaynab attained this status without being considered *infallible*. Her life provides a pattern for a journey towards perfection that is influenced by *infallible* role models but that does not require her to be *infallible* herself. Her status as a *non-infallible* but perfect woman makes her more accessible as a role model among world religions, because many religions favor the idea of the ordinary person's journey towards perfection.

In the next chapter I will present *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil's* attributes of character as manifested in Zaynab as the *Quṭb*.

CHAPTER 5

THE JOURNEY OF BEAUTY TOWARDS PERFECTION

"Zaynab!

And Who is Zaynab

And Who can understand Zaynab'[118]

Zaynab is Zaynab…

Zaynab Bint[119]'Ali is the granddaughter and descendant of the noblest family in Islam, which is that of the Prophet Muḥammad. Her mother[120] Fāṭimah Binti Muḥammad is known as one of the greatest embodiments of all that is divine in womanhood, the noblest ideal conceived among Muslims.[121] Her father 'Alī Ibni Abī Ṭālib,[122] is known as the righteous *Walī*[123] and Imām[124], appointed by Muḥammad before his death and the

[118] 'Abdullah Al-Mamqanī. *Tanqiḥ Al-Maqāl* fi *'Ilmi Rejāl* (Online: Maktabat Al-Islamyyah, 2003), Vol. 3. 79, http://alkafeel.net/islamiclibrary/menscience/storemeaning/index.html (accessed 23 Feb. 2013).
[119] Bint means daughter.
[120] Prophet Muḥammad had nine children whom passed away for different reasons. Fāṭimah is his only daughter by Khadijah. There is a chapter in her honor in Quran called Surah Al-Kawthar.
[121] Kabir Kausar and Inamul Kabir, *Biographical dictionary of Prominent Muslim Ladies* (New Delhi: Light of Life Publishers, 1982), 86.
[122] Ibn means son.
[123] Wali is a spiritual and political leader. This terminology is used by Shī'ah school of thought to refer to 'Ali Ibn-i-Abi Ṭalib known as the first Imām. On the other hand, Sunni believe in Khilāfah/ caliphate and as for them, 'Ali is considered as the fourth Khalifah.
[124] The word Imām means leader. In Sunni point of view an Imām is the man who leads the prayer and in Shī'ah point of view this title is given by God to some prophets and twelve decedents of Muḥammad who has religious roles within the society. Followers are obliged to follow the Imāms without doubt. According to Ayatollah Musavi Lari, "The Imām is, with respect to the masses composing the ummah (people of the society who follow Islamic rules), the leader and exemplar from whose intellectual power and insight those travelling toward God benefit, whose conduct and mode of life they imitate, and to whose commands they submit." (Sayed Mujtaba Musavi Lari, Translated by Hamid Algra, *God and His attributes Lessons on Islamic Doctrine* (Potomac, MD:Islamic Education Center,), 1-4.)
In addition, Shaykh Suleiman Balkhī, "A jew name Na'thal came to the Holy Prophet (SAWA), questioned him about Tawheed and was so impressed with the answers given that he embraced Islam, narrates it. Then Na'thal asked about his (the Prophet's) vicegerents. The Prophet answered, "My vice-gerent is 'Ali bin Abi Ṭalib, after him his son Al-Ḥasan, then Al-Ḥasan's brother Al-Ḥusayn who will be followed by his nine successive descendants." The Holy Prophet named al the Imāms." (Sheik Sulaiman Ibni Ibrahim Al-Qandūzī Al-Ḥanafī, *Yanabi'u Al-Mawadda*, (Online: Haydaraya, 2011), Ch.76, http://archive.org/details/YanaabeiMavaddah (accessed 10 March. 2013).

first[125] Shahīd[126] of Mihrāb[127]. Zaynab was born into a family in which all the members were highly praised by God [128] and the Prophet[129] because they were the people most educated in Islam. They were known as the most pious and faithful followers of the Prophet in their society. There are a plethora of verses and *ḥadīth*s in the honor of Zaynab's family, but the most famous verse is where Allah states, "O Muḥammad! Say, I do not ask for any reward for this (bringing of Allah's message) except the love for thy near kinship."[130] In this verse, Allah reveals that one aspect of Muḥammad's teaching is through the love of his family as great role models. True love is obtained by gaining the Ma'rifah[131] of a person. In order to obtain true Ma'rifah, one must know that person intimately. This verse not only represents the family of prophet as role models,[132] it also emphasizes the importance of loving them, which leads to knowing and following them. Therefore, according to the Quran, in order to analyze and understand Zaynab's journey towards Kamāl, one needs to gain Ma'rifah about her personal and social ambience. Her journey towards Kamāl was constantly immersed in the Essence of God and submission to His will. Ma'rifah of Zaynab can be obtained through knowledge of the great role models who surrounded her and their individual influences on her life. The first influence that shaped her character occurred right after her name was chosen.

---

[125] He is the first man to be killed while prostrating Allah during prayers.
[126] Martyr.
[127] Alter for pray.
[128] 'لولاك لما خلقت الأعفلاك و لولا على لما خلقتك و لولا فاطمة لما خلقتكما' If it was not for you MuḥammadI would not create the universe and if it was not for ''Ali I would not create you and if it was not for for the sake of Fāṭimah I would not create 'Ali.
[129] His Companions asked Prophet Muhammad (SAWA): "How should we invoke blessings for you?" … He said: "Say: "O Allah! Send Your blessings on Muhammad and the Family of Muhammad, as You sent Your blessings on Abraham and on the Family of Abraham, for You are the Most Praiseworthy, the Most Glorious."(Bukharī, Sahih al-Bukharī, Vol. 4, book 55, num. 589).
[130] Quran 42:23.
[131] Ma'refah Means Knowledge.
[132] Ḥadīth of Thaqalayn also emphasizes on the fact that the two strong patterns remained among Muslim to be followed are Quran and Family of Muḥammad.

Importance of Names in Islam and Importance of Zaynab's Name in Her Journey towards Kamāl

Names are one of the most important things that Allah created. "He formed them out of letters."[133] Every creature of God is endowed with a specific name, given by God. Names are chosen based on a creature's capacity for inner existence, of knowing God. A name is the ultimate guarantee of a creature's capacity. When the Quran says, "and those who strive for Us, We will indeed guide them to Our ways,"[134] it is referring to the hard work that one performs to achieve the full manifestation of the true meaning of his or her name. As different names suggest different capacities, different names are guided along different paths. The most important thing about these paths is that they are all marked by God and belong to Him. Therefore, they all lead the owner of the name towards the Creator of that name, Allah. Some names are ordinary and some are chosen and special. Ordinary names have limitations, but the path is always accessible to those with vision to discern their identity. In contrast, the special names, including Allah's names, are infinite; their vastness of meaning is unattainable to the senses of the mind. Zaynab is among those who was honored with a special name chosen for her by God.

From the Islamic point of view, the name of an individual has a great impact on his or her personality. For example, one of the main responsibilities of a father is to choose a proper name for his newborn child. The importance of choosing a good name for a child in Islam comes from the *ḥadith* of Muḥammad where he said, "the child has three claims on his father and the first is to choose a good/proper name for him/her…"[135].

---

[133] Koleinī, *Uṣūl Al-Kafī*, Vol. 1, 112.
[134] Quran 29:69.
[135] Abū 'Ali Faḍl Ibni Ḥasan Ṭabarsī, *Makārem Al-Akhlāq* (Iran: Nashr Habib, 1972), 220.

The significance of this tradition is due to the power of the name in shaping the child's characteristics. A good name encourages its owner to act in the way that name suits him or her. For their life it provides gateway to different dimentions for a full realization of his/her abilities implicit in the name. The importance of this practice is clear to Muslims in early Islam, and stems from the practice of Muḥammad himself. The name of his daughter Fāṭimah was chosen by God, but for his other children and grandchildren he chose the best names possible.

The first daughter of 'Ali and Fāṭimah, the fifth member of the family after the birth of their two sons Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn, was born nine years after Hijrah[136] in Medina[137]. Even though there are several debates about the date of her birth, the story of this event is unforgettable. She was handed to 'Ali to be named, but 'Ali, out of his respect for Muḥammad, waited for him to return from his trip. Zaynab is the third grandchild of Muḥammad. As a family tradition, the honored Prophet gave all the newborns of his family their names. Muḥammad rejoiced when the baby was brought to him. At this time, the angel Jibraīl wept when he conveyed the name of the newborn as God commanded. When the prophet asked him why, Jibraīl responded by saying:

> "O Prophet of Allah, from early on in life this girl will remain entangled in tribulations and trials in this world. First she will weep over your separation (from this world); thereafter she will bemoan the loss of her mother, then her father, and then her brother Al-Ḥasan. After all this she will be confronted with the trials of the land of Karbalā and the tribulations of that lonely desert, as a result of which her hair will turn grey and her back will be bent."[138]

---

[136] Migration of Muḥammadfrom Mekkah to Medina which is known as the beginning of the Islamic Calendar.
[137] Madinah is known as the City of Muḥammadwhere he established his first Hukumah Al-Islamiah (Islamic ruler ship) and it is located in Saudi Arabia.
[138] M. H. Bilgrami, *The victory of truth: The life of Zaynab binte 'Ali,* (Karachi, Pakistan: Zahra Publication, 1986), Chapter 1. It is also mentioned in *Nasekh Al-ttawārikh* chapter on Zaynab S.A يا حبيبى اجعل اسمها زينب dear prophet choose Zaynab for her and the angel cried and prophet PBUH asked for the reason of his tears and he replied: ان حياة هذه البنت سوف تكون مقرونة بالصائب والمتاعب، من بداية عمرها الي وفاتها the life of this girl from the beginning till end is going to be a entitled with miseries and hardships. Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubra*, 16-17.

The prophecy about Zaynab's future was brought to Muḥammad as a revelation from God, which caused sorrow in Muḥammad's heart. When he shared this revelation and future tragic hardships of Zaynab's life with his daughter and son-in-law, the family burst into tears. This revelation was meant to convey the important mission that Zaynab would take part in. "Since her name was chosen by God, she became the 'second woman'[139] known in Islamic history to have this honor bestowed upon her as a token of God's mercy.

From the Islamic point of view, this story not only emphasizes the tradition of choosing a proper name for children, but also reveals the future attributes provided by this name in the development of Zaynab's great characteristics. She carried the meanings of this beautiful name and reflected them throughout her lifetime. She fulfilled the meaning of her name by fulfilling the responsibilities assigned to her by God. This responsibility is called *Amānah*[140], which was given to all Perfect Human, including the prophets. From Adam to Muḥammad, they all carried the weight of *Amānah* and they achieved God's satisfaction by fulfilling His expectations. This concept, which is one of the characteristics of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, is known as *Haqīqat Muḥammadī.*[141] Muḥammad fully realized this because he was the only one who completely fulfilled the burden of this responsibility of *Amānah*. Following her grandfather, Zaynab carried the weight of such *Amānah*, and as a result, she developed more than forty attributes related to her name that I will mention later in this paper. Gaining these attributes is what Ibni Al-'Arabī refers to as one of the qualities of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil.* From his perspective, Al-

[139] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubra*, 16-17; Abūbark Abū Ghaḥāfih, Ed. Muḥammad Taqī Lesan Al-Mulk Sepehr, *Nasekh Al-ttawarikh* (Tehran:Intesharat Asaṭīr ,2005), chapter on Zaynab.
[140] Trust and integrity. Sacred task which is given to Khalīfat-u-Allah and is to teach the truth of religion.
[141] Al-Jīlī, *Al-Insan Al-Kamil fi Ma'refat Al-Awael wa Al-awakhe,* Ch.60.

Insān Al-Kāmil carries the weight of *Amānah* as a promise to God and becomes 'the peak of God's names and attributes as one who God manifested within her.''[142] What is meant by fulfilling the meaning of Zaynab's name, which turned her into the *Qutb* of God's manifestation for God to manifest within her. Let us start with the meaning of the word 'Zaynab'.

Different meaning of the word Zaynab

There are various meanings that can be suggested for the word/name Zaynab. The first, and the most accurate meaning for this name can be translated as 'beauty of father', 'adornment of father' or 'good of father'. In this version, Zaynab derives from "Zayn, meaning beauty, plus Ab"[143] meaning father. Why do they call her 'the beauty of her father'? It has been reported that her style and mannerism of speaking and behaving were the exact same as her father 'Ali. Her choice of words and the fluency of her speech were as great as her father 'Ali who was the best Khaṭṭab[144] of his time. Zaynab is also thought to mean 'the one who weeps excessively'.

Just when you think a man is perfect as an *infallible* Imām,[145] God honors him with a daughter who is called Zaynab, a beauty of her father. How a daughter can be considered a beauty to a perfect, *infallible* Imām is what makes Zaynab a unique woman. 'Ali is the first Imām and the successor of Muḥammad, chosen by God and His messenger "Ali was the first spiritual and political leader. In one of the supplications known as *Nudbah*, his role is mentioned as a role of messengers, even though he is not

[142]Ibni 'Arabī, *Futūḥāt Makkyyah* Vol. 13, Ch. 73. F. 66. 100.
[143] Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb Al-Fīrūzābādhī Al-Shīrāzī Al-Shāfi'ī*, Al-Qamūs Al-Muhīṭ* (online: Nida Al-Imān,..) http://www.al-eman.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B3%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AD%D9%8A%D8%B7%20***/i273&p1 (last accesse 4 May. 2013)
[144] Khattab means a man who makes eloquent speeches.
[145] 'Ali Ibn-i-Abi Ṭalib is considered as the 1st Imām by Shī'ah.

considered a prophet. The root of his name A L W is derived from the same roots of God's attribute, A'alā, is derived. This is mentioned in the Ḥadīth of Muḥammad where Allah asserts to him that:

> "Oh Muhammad, I directed at the earth a great gaze and from it I took one of my own names for thou; thus I shall not be mentioned in any place except that thou be mentioned with me. I am Mahmud and thou art Muhammad. I gazed once more at the earth and from that gaze I took another of my names for 'Ali; I am the most exalted ('Alā) and he is 'Ali (the exalted one)."[146]

This Ḥadīth shows that the light of five members of Muḥammad's family, including 'Ali, was created from the light of Allah. 'Ali is with God and God is with Him throughout his life. One of the famous stories about 'Ali's level of *Imān*[147] is when he was asked if he had seen Allah. 'Ali responded: 'I never worshiped the God whom I haven't seen!'. In order to avoid causing any ambiguity to the questioner, he continued, 'Eyes are incapable of seeing Him yet hearts through the truth of *Imān* can see Him.'[148] His faith is not a theoretical analysis of God; it is beyond the human senses. His *Imān* is a *Yaqīn*[149] that is achieved as result of one's unity with God. Such a man of high position is the father of Zaynab. Therefore, her God-given name beholds the mystery of adding beauty to such a Perfect Man.

There are two approaches to the meaning of Zaynab. One angle is with respect to 'Ali who is perfect, yet Zaynab becomes an addition to his perfection. Zaynab must have all of that perfection within her to be considered a beauty to her perfect father. Therefore, Zaynab either had an apex of perfection or the apex of 'Ali's perfection was rooted in her character. In other words, she is the apex of 'Ali's perfection and all aspects of his spiritual, rational, and moral characteristics are also the treasured legacy of Zaynab.

---

[146] Turayht, op. cit., 106.
[147] Faith.
[148] Muṭaharī, *Insān Kāmil*, 10,160.
[149] Certainty.

The second angle has to do with Zaynab herself. Usually Zayn (beauty) is directly related to the owner of beauty. If the owner of beauty has merit, then the beauty will be defined with respect to its owner as a beautiful quality. It is through the worth of the owner that the Zayn itself gains the value. The more notable the owner, the more valuable the Zayn will be. Therefore the word Zayn and its owner complete one another in a reciprocal relationship, and both of their values are defined with respect to one another. Thus, in the word 'Zaynab', Zayn is considered the worthiest beauty of 'Ali, who defines 'Ali's beauty and is defined by 'Ali's beauty.

It is mentioned in *Līsān Al-'Arab* that Zaynab also means a 'tree which is beautiful to look at and fragrantly smelling, or a decorated or ornamented tree.'[150] It also means worthy, fearful, faint-hearted, or timorous.[151] Her family, educated in the Arabic language, believed in the importance of her chosen name. They provided a nurturing environment throughout her life to support her in perfectly manifesting the meanings of her name.

The perfect choice for her name was an important factor that guided her towards perfection. There are a few ways of interpreting what is meant by Zaynab fulfilling the meaning of her name as the meaning of the word 'Zaynab': She had to become perfect as an addition to 'Ali's beauty, that she had to become as perfect as 'Ali in Kamāl , or, even better, or that she had to be considered as his beauty. In fulfilling what is expected of her, she became worthy of becoming the *Qutb* which reflects God's manifestations. This manifestation occurred through her attributes which numbered more than forty. The

---

[150]Muḥammad Kaẓim Al-Qazwīnī, *Zaynab A.S* (Beirut: Moassasal Al-Nūr li Al-Maṭbūāt, 1990), 153.
الزينب شجر حسن المنظر، طيب الرائحه، و به سميت المرئه
او من الزينب، اسم لشجر حسن المنظر، طيب الرائحه، واحدته ((زينبة)).
[151] Al-Fīrūzābādhī Al-Shīrāzī Al-Shāfi'ī, *Al-Qamūs Al-Muhīṭ*, 82.

journey of Kamāl throughout her life displays several moments in which she used these attributes with God's permission.

Zaynab's Attributes

Zaynab's attributes were awarded to her as she became *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. The manifestation of God's names and attributes through Zaynab's attributes is clear and we can see the power given to Zaynab by God. This power became the source of her thoughts, words, and actions in different situations throughout her life.

She is known as being wise and an '*Alimah Ghair Mo'allimah*', a learned one who didn't have a teacher. She is also known as '*Fahmah ghair Mufhimah*', meaning the one who understood without any explanation. She carried the nicknames,'*Zāhidah*' abstemious and aesthetic and ''*Ābidah*', devoted, adorer[152]. Her focus in life was on spiritual progress rather than materialistic pursuits. Her endeavor was for the sake of Allah and she was humble; she perfected herself with the best of moralities. One of her most famous sobriquets is *'Aqīlah*[153] wise, intellectual or the lady of wisdom. She was the one who wisely handled the situations and events which took place after Karbalā. The message of Karbalā remained unique due to the wisdom in her speeches and in defending what she did after the event of Karbalā. That is why she is called '*Nāib Al-Zahra*' (Zahra's[154] representative) and '*Nāib Al-Ḥusayn*' (Al-Ḥusayn's representative).

[152] There are forty-nine attributes mentioned for her throughout history.
[153]There are several meanings for this word which are as following: a women of generosity, precious woman and anesthetic. Lesan Al-Arab/ Ibn-i-Manzoor.
[154] Zahra is another name for Fāṭimah Binti Muḥammad.

Zaynab's Date of Birth and its importance

Another of Zaynab's attributes is *Karīmah*[155] and therefore people are blessed with her *Kirāmah*.'[156] While *Kirāmah* is considered one of the signs of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, receiving *Kirāmah* from him/her depends on two elements. If one seeks to receive *Kirāmah*, then he/she needs to be located in a sacred space at a sacred time. The first element is a universal concept of sacred space shared by all religions. As Eliade suggests, it is through the sacred space that 'man comes in contact with Divine.'[157] As a result, people tend to display different behavior within sacred spaces, such as a church, synagogue or Masjed. Another quality of sacred space appears if the person is constantly exposed to it. This means that being in sacred space turns into a habit, which ultimately alters the person into a sacred space. In the case of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, this alteration is notable. When a person is constantly in touch with God through acts of worship in sacred space, he/she turns into a sacred space. All messengers and prophets who were known as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* are considered sacred spaces and that is why they became worthy of God's manifestation within them. Zaynab, as an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* owns this quality, and being close to her rewards people with a closeness to God.

The second element, known as sacred time, is practiced by all religions, such as the Christian celebration of Christmas or the Jewish ceremony of Passover. Likewise there are also sacred days for Muslims. One tradition practiced by Shī'ah is a celebration of the birthdays of the Prophet, his family, and twelve Imāms. This practice is based on the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet where he states, "my faithful followers are those who are happy

[155] Generous.
[156] Kirāmah means the act of Munificence through generosity.
[157]

in me and my *Ahl al-Bayt's*[158] happiness and sad along with their sadness."[159] Therefore, Shī'ah believe that the birthdays of Muḥammad and his family are the days that brought happiness to these people in the past. Such belief leads them towards celebration of these birthdays as sacred days.

Another reason for the sacredness of these days is because God has bestowed His mercy upon humanity through the birth of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Additionally, it is understood that these days are considered chosen days by God to reflect on His own manifestation through *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. On these specific days, God's attributes are displayed. While being the center of such reflection, Perfect Human can act within these attributes. So, *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil,* with God's permission, becomes the source of *Kirāmah*. God is eternal and so are His attributes. As a result, *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* as the center of these attributes remains eternal. This is how Muḥammad and his family, Zaynab included, remain sources of *Kirāmah* throughout the centuries.

The Shī'ah celebrate her birthday while they visit her shrine to be exposed to the *Kirāmah* of Zaynab as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. They believe this practice will provide them with the two necessary elements of sacred time and sacred space. Therefore, I will

---

[158] The word *Ahlul Al-Bayts* refers to the family members of Prophet Muḥammad mentioned in Ḥadīth of narrated by Yazid Ibn Hayyan, "We went to Zaid Ibn Arqam and said to him: You have found goodness (for you had the honor) to live in the company of the Prophet (PBUH&HF) and offered prayer behind him, and the rest of the Ḥadīth is the same (as 3 traditions before) but the Prophet said: "Behold, for I am leaving amongst you two weighty things, one of them is the Book of Allah…", and in this (*ḥadīth*) these words are also found: We said: "Who are his *Ahlul-Bayt* (that the Prophet was referring to)? Are they his wives?" Thereupon Zaid said: "No, by Allah! A woman lives with a man (as his wife) for a while; he then divorces her and she goes back to her parents and her people. The Ahlul-Bayt of the Prophet are his lineage and his descendants (those who come from his blood) for whom the acceptance of charity (Sadaqah) is prohibited." (*Sahih Muslim*, Chapter of the virtues of companions, section of the virtues of 'Ali, 1980 Edition Pub. in Saudi Arabia, Arabic version, v4, p1873, Tradition #36) According to Quran (the last sentence of Verse 33:33), perfect purity and sinlessness is the characteristic of Ahlul-Bayt. Name of Ahl al-Bayts are as below: 'Ali, Fāṭimah, Al-Ḥasan, Al-Ḥusayn , Zain Al-A'bedeen, Muḥammadbaqer, Ja'far Ṣadeq, Mūsā Al-Kāẓim, 'Ali Ibni Musā Al-Riḍā, MuḥammadIbn-i- Taqi, 'Ali Ibni Al-Naqī, Al-Ḥasan Al-'Asgari and Mahdī. While the indication their name is explicitly stated through *ḥadīth* of Jāber. Zaynab and Ummul Al-Kulthūm are also known as Ahl al-Bayt of Muḥammad yet not consider among of the infallible ones. This term for them is only translated as the family members who are related to the Prophet.

[159]Imām 'Ali Ibni abi Ṭalib, *Ghural Al-Ḥikam wa Duraru Al-Kalim: Majmū'ah min Kalimāt wa Ḥikam Al-Imām 'Ali* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-A'lamī, 1987) Vol. 1, 429.

present the various dates reported as Zaynab's birthday, not only due to the sacredness of this day, but also to demonstrate the important role this date plays in estimating related dates and events which took place during her lifetime. Clarifying her date of births also leads to settling the debate about the number of girls in her family. This is a very important topics that illustrates the different approchs of Shi'a and Sunni with respect to her date of birth. This element of conterversory will be presented descriptively in Appendix B

Zaynab was born In Medina in 626 C.E. There are different narratives regarding the date of her birth. Some indicate the first of Sha'bān,[160] others the fifth of *Jamādī Al-Awwal*[161] of the fifth or sixth year A.H., or the ninth of Ramaḍān[162] in the ninth year A.H.[163] Suyūtī in *Resalat Al-Zaynabieh* states that Zaynab was born five years before prophet's death.[164] The ambiguity of her birth date is a source of contention. Furthermore, different narratives relate that she could be the third daughter of 'Ali, or the fourth and the last, while some scholars believe that the last daughter of 'Ali was Um-al Kulthūm.[165]

Zaynab's Grandfather Was the Last Prophet of Islam and a Universal Figure

It is hard to gain a deep understanding of the contextual influences surrounding Zaynab's environment from childhood to death. During her childhood, she lived next door to her grandfather's house in Medina and her family was constantly exposed to him as a source of revelation. Description of this atmosphere is mentioned in Quran

---

[160] The eight month of Islamic Calendar.
[161] The fifth month of Islamic Calendar.
[162] The ninth month of Islamic Calendar.
[163] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā*, 18; Aḥmad Al-Raḥmanī Hamadānī, *Fāṭimata Al-Zahrā Bahjatu Qalb Al-Muṣṭafā* (Beirut: Dar Al-Ḥawā, 2005) 634.
[164] Ibid P.28.
[165] Some Scholars believe that she was the last daughter of 'Ali and Fāṭimah and her title was Zaynab Al-Sughrā which means the younger Zaynab.

> "In houses, which Allah has ordered to be raised and be honored, in them His Name is glorified in the mornings and in the afternoons or the evenings." [166] When this verse was recited one asked Prophet PBUH about these houses and the response was the house of prophets and messengers. Abubakr[167] then stood up and 'pointed towards the house of 'Ali and Fāṭimah and asked; is this house one of them? Prophet responded; yes surely it is amongst the best ones."[168]

She spent her childhood within a house that was considered a sacred space. This was acknowledged by God in Quran and pointed out by Muḥammad repeatedly. As a member of such a holy family, she was favored by Muḥammad since she resembled Khadijah. Muḥammad instructed his people "to respect Zaynab because she is similar to Khadijah."[169] She was called as '*Qurrati 'Aini Al-Rasul*'[170] by her grandfather. She had a close relationship with Muḥammad and she used to 'refer to him as her father while narrating *ḥadīth* from him.'[171] Therefore, she is also known as "*Binto Al-Rasoo,l*"[172] one who learned her creeds from him as a daughter learns it from father. She observed the three-pronged code of ethics. The first Haq[173] is known as *Haqu Allah* and includes aspects of worship such as fastings and prayers. The seccond is *Haqu Nafs*/ self which are eating, sleeping. The third is Haq Al-Nas which is related to kinfolk and involves relationship with parents, members of family and neigbours. She learned all about preparing for one's salvation from the actions of her spiritual father as she observed him throughout the day, morning until night. The main reason for her an earlly spiritual

---

[166] Quran 24: 36.
[167] The first Khalīfah considered by Sunni as one who was chosen with the vote of Ummah .
[168] For the commentery of Surah Noor verse number 36 refer to the commentary of the verse. Sayyed Hāshim Baḥrānī, *Al-Burhān fi Tafsīr Al-Quran* (Lobnon: Dar Al-Iḥya Al-Turath, 2013), Vol.5.
[169] Muḥammad Muḥammad Ishtihardī, *Ḥaḍrat Zaynab Payam resan Shahīdān Karbalā* (Tehran: Burhān, 2007), 8.
[170] Light of Muḥammad's eyes Ziarati Zaynab Kubrā.
[171] Here "father" has special conotation as Zaynab is referring to the Prophet as the main source of her knowledge of Hadith and religion.
[172] Daughter of the messenger Khuṭbah in Kufah.
[173] Islamic Rights.

progress was far having "*Rahmato Lel'alamīn*"[174] as her mentor. She changed into *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* at a young age.

Even though Kamāl has nothing to do with age, most people achieve it later in life, around the age of forty. There are cases of those who attained Kamāl earlier, such as Muḥammad, the twelve Imāms[175], Fāṭimah, and Zaynab. While the journey of Kamāl for the seeker of perfection starts with the age of responsibility[176], Zaynab's journey was assigned to her form birth. Through revelation, Muḥammad was aware of Zaynab's role and responsibility in the future. Therefore, as the best person to teach the foundation of what he preached and practiced, he equipped Zaynab for reaching her goal of becoming a humble servant.

As one of the steps for becoming a humble servant "'*Abdullah*", she followed Muḥammad's footprint. He was known as the perfect 'Abdullah. To do this, she had to overcome one of the biggest obstacles on the path towards Kamāl, the whispers of Satan. As mentioned in Quran, all prophets, messengers and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* were constantly challenged by "Satans and Jinns"[177] who "promised to mislead humans."[178] Similarly, Zaynab followed Muḥammad, the symbol of one who defeated Satan throughout different stages of his life. Zaynab learned how to protect her soul against Satan's whispers through prayer and fasting. Muḥammad taught that if one desires to distance Satan from her/himself, she/he must practice fasting. "Fasting blackens the face of Satan, charity break his back, love of Allah and love of helping the friends of Allah cut his back, and

---

[174] Mercy upon all creatures is one of the attributes of Muḥammadmentioned in Quran. Holy Quran 21:107.
[175] For Shī'ah believers there are twelve spiritual successors of Muḥammadwhom are chosen by God.
[176] For Muslims boys at age fourteen and girl at age nine are responsible for their daily intentions, deeds and decisions.
[177] Quran 3:112.
[178] Quran 15:39.

seeking forgiveness force him to lose hope in misleading you."[179] As an ordinary person she learned how to overcome her desires by practicing the pillars of Islam. Her style of prayer, in humble servitude, is famously mentioned in *aḥadīth*. Not only did she not miss any of her daily prayers, she also offered night prayers since childhood in a perfect form. Before Al-Ḥusayn's martyrdom when he was about to enter the field of battle, he requested his sister Zaynab to remember him during her *Tahajjud*. The infallible Imām, who is about to achieve the highest status of '*Shahādah*'[180] is requesting Zaynab to pray for him. In this request, Al-Ḥusayn is referring to two points. This illustrates Zaynab's status before God as her prayers can impact an infallible "*Shahīd*"[181] after death.

The first point that is illustrated is that Al-Ḥusayn's request is evidence that she was an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. This quality is called "*Mustajāb Al-Da'wah*", one whose prayers and requests before God is accepted. *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* means that through a great of act of worship, God fulfills all his/her prayers. In addition, Al-Ḥusayn's request for prayer is related to his concern for the members of his family who would have no man to support them after his martyrdom. Secondly, Al-Ḥusayn was asking Zaynab to keep her consistency in night prayer in order to support the family during the difficult times ahead. His request is due to Al-Ḥusayn's, knowledge about the power of patience that is given to the '*Mutahajjid*'[182] especially Zaynab, by offering night prayers. Al-Ḥusayn wants Zaynab to pray for Al-Ḥusayn's soul, and also gain strength.

---

[179]Shaikh 'Abbas Qumī, *Safinatu Al-Biḥār Madinatu Al-Ḥikam wa Al-Āthār* (Iran: Dār Al-Uswatu li Al-Ṭaba'ah wa Al-Nashr, 1995), Vol. 2, 64.
[180] Martydom is considered as the highest achievement for individuals and Martyrs are considered as lived ones in Quran.(3:169)
[181] Martyr.
[182]One who offer night prayers.

Not only had she become a humble servant through a perfect style of worship, she also managed to stay away from all types of sin. Instead, she performed plenty of good deeds worthy of reward. While she followed her grandfather's footprints in each step, she mastered the verse in honor of Muḥammad's highest degree of devotion. Described in the Quran, he was the one "who turns (to Allah) who serves (Him), who praises (Him), who fasts, who bows down, who prostrates themselves/himself, who enjoins what is good and forbids what is evil, and who keeps the limits of Allah and gives good news to the believers."[183] Similarly, all aspects of Zaynab's life were for the sake of Allah, towards Allah, and with the intention of His satisfaction.

At this point of life she took care of the personal aspects of her Kamāl, which includes fulfilling her goal of creation. She learned how to worship Allah in a perfect way and how to avoid Satan who surrounds individuals "in order to interrupt the humble worships."[184] As a result, she became a "*Mokhlaṣ*", one who is purified and chosen by Allah. This status guarantees its owner's safety from Satan's misleading whispers.[185] As purified by the will of God, her body turned into sacred space. Therefore, at this point her eyes witnessed the unseen and her ears heard the Ghaib. Her soul, nevertheless, was connected to the realm of the Jinn and Angels. She was only three when she had her first '*Adhghath-i-Aḥlam*'[186] which she shared with her prophet:

> In her dream she saw "A violent wind arose in the city and darkened the earth and the sky. The little girl was tossed hither and thither, and suddenly she found herself stuck in the branches of a huge tree. But the wind was so strong that it uprooted the tree. Zaynab [a.s.] caught hold of a branch but that broke. In a panic she grabbed two twigs but these too gave way and she was left falling with no support. Then she woke up. When she told her grandfather, the Prophet [s.a.w.],

[183]Quran 9:112.
[184]Quran 41:36.
[185]Quran 15:40.
[186] True dream.

> about this dream he wept bitterly and said, "O my daughter that tree is me who is shortly going to leave this world. The branches are your father ‘Ali and your mother Fatima Zahra, and the twigs are your brothers Al-Ḥasan and Husayn. They will all depart this world before you do, and you will suffer their separation and loss.” [187]

This story proves that a *non-Infallible* is capable of receiving a divine task while knowing about the future through *Adhghath-i-Ahlam*. This stage, as Ibn-i-‘Arabi mentioned, is known as ‘*Shuhūd*’[188] where “*Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* sees the unseen.”[189] Zaynab gained this attribute of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* when she was very young. At this point in her life she changes to a higher position in terms of understanding the will of Allah. As one who fulfilled her personal goal of creation, she now prepared for the social goal of her journey towards Kamāl. She saw her grandfather’s tears and understood why Allah had chosen the name Zaynab for her. Shortly after her dream, her beloved grandfather, the source of revelation, became sick. Muḥammad called his *Ahl al-Bayt* for a final farewell. It is reported that Zaynab, the one who had access to the unseen, witnessed how angels would visit his grandfather’s house in groups to “convey their condolences to her parents, especially Fāṭimah.”[190]At this time Al-Ḥasan asked Zaynab to bring Muḥammad’s “*Hunot*”[191]. Zaynab brought the *Hunot* and opened it. The heavenly smell spread around the room.[192] Zaynab’s farewell with Muḥammad was complete while she saw angels and smelled the essence of heaven.

Since her dream gave her a perspective to her future, Zaynab prepared for the next steps on her journey towards Kamāl. She was ready for a greater task and role for the loss of every beloved family member she would lose in the future. As one who was taught by

---

[187] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā*, 18.
[188] Intuition.
[189] *Resalah Al-Ghawthiah* , 25.
[190] Koleinī, *Uṣūl Al-Kafī* Vol. 1, 458
[191] Embalment.
[192] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā*. P.22.

the Adab[193] of Muḥammad and whose *Akhlāq*[194] was shaped by Muḥammad, as one 'who was chosen to perfect the *Akhlāq*'[195], she was prepared for such a task. Therefore, she knew that she was becoming a "*Warathatu Al-Anbiā*" as mentioned by Muḥammad in his *ḥadīth* that "the scholars are the inheritors of prophets."[196] Not only did she have to act as inheritor of her grandfather, she had to carry out the roles of all the family members who would soon die.

Zaynab's Mother Fāṭimah Binti Muḥammad

The loss of her grandfather was a burden which was healed by Zaynab's parents' affection and care. As the only daughter of Muḥammad, Fāṭimah grew in such a perfect way not only as a great daughter and wife but also as a great mother. Her role in shaping Zaynab's character is crucial. Fāṭimah taught her consistency in worship, obedience, patience, wifehood, motherhood, and about handling the hardships of life. Furthermore, the most important lesson taught by Fāṭimah not only to Zaynab but to humanity, was the example she set in defending the truth against oppression when she defended her Imām 'Alī and husband.

As one who was the best in offering prayer, Fāṭimah taught Zaynab how to be consistent by never missing her own prayers. Although Zaynab was taught about night prayers from her grandfather, Fāṭimah taught her how to transform this act into a habit. While she was very young, Zaynab shared moments with her mother who 'prays during night and early mornings. This practice remained with Zaynab during critical moments of her life, such as the night after the event of Karbalā. When misery, pain, thirst, hunger,

---

[193] Ethics.
[194] Morals.
[195] Ḥusay Nūrī Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak Al-Wasail wa Al-Mustanbaṭ Al-Masail* (Beirut: Muassesah Āli Bayt Iḥya Al-Turath, 2008), Vol. 11, Ch. 6, 187.
[196] 'Abdullāh Shubbār, *Tafsīr Al-Qurān Al-Karīm* (Beirut: Dār Al-Iḥyā Al-Turath, 2007), Vol. 7, 177.

and cruelty of the hostage takers attacked her body and soul during the night after the event of Karbalā, she turned into an embodiment of perfect "*Tahajjud*."[197] The *Infallible* Imām Zain Al-'Ābedin praised her style of worship by saying "I saw her offering her *Tahajjud* seated during the night of 11th of Muharram."[198] Being the subject of praise by an infallible Imām, Zaynab achieved this status as a non-infallible woman.

One of the amazing *Adab* that Zaynab learned from her mother was to recite the Surah Al-Ikhlāṣ three times before sleep. This *Adab* was taught to Fāṭimah by her father when he told her "to recite the whole Quran, to offer Hajj, to satisfy all faithful believers and to have the intercession of all prophets before bedtime."[199] When Fāṭimah was amazed with her father's request, the Prophet explained to her one of the secrets of worship. He revealed to Fāṭimah that reciting the Surah al-Ikhālṣ three times is equal to performing all of these four great acts. She learned from her father and the Prophet of Islam and transferred these mysteries to her beloved daughter Zaynab. There are many special prayers and secrets of worship Zaynab learned from her beloved mother. Even though she was very young, Zaynab remains the only source that passed down these precious teachings to humanity.[200] While Zaynab learned secrets from her mother, she reflected another attribute of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* that Ibni 'Arabi referred to as '*Kashf-i-*

---

[197]Tahajjud means night prayers that is offered on the third quarter of night and was taught by Muḥammad. Values of Tahajjud are mentioned in Quran and Ḥadīth. Allah says; "Wealth and children are an ornament of the life of this world" (Quran 18:46), but the eight raka'ats recited by a servant at the end of the night are an ornament of the Hereafter.
Imām Al-Ṣadiq.
[198] Maḥmūd Al-Bilāwī, *Al-Sayedah Zaynab Zekruha Amm Riḍa Kahalato fi A'alām Al-Nisā,* 91:2.
[199] Musnad Fatima Al-Zhara. P.118.
[200] Muḥammad Ibni Muḥammad N'umān Mufīd, *Amālī* (Qum: Nawid Islam, 2010), 40; Abū J'afar Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Shahr Āshūb Ibni Abī Al-Jaish Al-Mazandaranī, *Manāqib Ali Abī Ṭalib* (Online: Maktabatu Al-Shī'ah, 1956), http://shiaonlinelibrary.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8/1349_%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%A8-%D8%A2%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%86-%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1-%D8%A2%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%A8-%D8%AC-%D9%A1Vol. 1, 253 (accessed 5 May. 2013).

Serr'[201]. Zaynab's prayers were considered a source of revealed secrets regarding worship, and later a source of divine secrets.

Along with perfecting the spiritual and mystical aspect of her worship, Zaynablearned about womanhood, wifehood, and motherhood from Fāṭimah. Although Fāṭimah was killed five years after Zaynab's birth, she still managed to educate her daughter with all the necessary details about life. Zaynab's dream and the prophecy of Muḥammad made it clear to Fāṭimah, that her death would approach shortly after Muḥammad's departure. So Fāṭimah 'Ummi Abīhā'[202] taught her daughter how to be a mother of her father. She not only asked Zaynab to play the role of mother for her father, but also obliged her to 'remain a mother especially to Al-Ḥusayn.'[203] As a result she is known as *Umme Abiha* and *Umme Akhiha*. With her request, Fāṭimah created a huge sense of responsibility within Zaynab's character towards her family members that lasted until her death. Every aspect of Zaynab's life was influenced by her mother's will to such an extend that 'one of her conditions for marriage was permission for a daily visit to her brother Al-Ḥusayn.'[204] The love between Al-Ḥusayn and his sister was extraordinary.

Fāṭimah influenced the private aspects of Zaynab's existence and set an example for engaging in the social aspects of life as well. Zaynab's task was not limited to the private boundaries of her household. By following her mother's example; she became a teacher and an active member of society. She observed her mother and also taught science of Quran and *ḥadīth* to women. She had a 'Quran class where she would teach

---

[201] Ibni 'Arabī, *Risalah Al- Ghawthiah*, 25.
[202] Mother of father
[203] 'Āishah Muḥammad 'Ali 'Abdul Raḥmān Bint Al-Shaṭī, *Sayyed Zaynab 'Aqīlah Banīi Hāshim (A.S)*/Baṭlatu al-Karbalā (Cairo: 1952), 41.
[204] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā,* 194

interpretation of the verses of Quran.'[205] Her role was not limited to teaching; she was known both as a 'scholar and consultant'[206] and resolved family problems by advising people on Islamic solutions. Since Zaynab was fluent in both the knowledges of '*Ilmo Al-Badan*'[207] and '*elmo Al-dīn*'[208], her contribution to the society was precious. She had knowledge beyond worldly knowledge and was called "*Sahib Al-Hikmah,*" the owner of wisdom, which is a gift from God to his *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*.

With her grandfather's death and the loss of her mother shortly after his, Zaynab's happiness ended. According to historians, the short period between these two deaths was either "forty days or ninety days."[209] Zaynab witnessed the door of her house burnt and broken down over her mother Fāṭimah. As the sacred house of *Ahlaul al-Bayt* was being attacked by those who oppressed the right of 'Ali as the first *Khalīfah*, Zaynab experienced one of the bitterest moments of her life. Fāṭimah fell in front of her children with a nail penetrating her chest, causing the miscarriage of her six-month-old baby. Then, the people who were seeking to capture 'Ali to force the allegiance of the *Khalīfah*, broke into the house. They took away 'Ali, and Fāṭimah followed them still bleeding. She "was hit and fell on the street."[210] Zaynab not only witnessed these heartbreaking moments, but she remembered the catastrophes that she would face in the future. Most importantly, she witnessed her parents' opposition towards the society's erroneous

---

[205] *Ibid*, 144.
[206] Al-Raḥmanī Hamadānī, *Fāṭimata Al-Zahrā Bahjatu Qalb Al-Muṣṭafā*, 862.
[207] Knowledge of health related to the body.
[208] Knowledge of religion related to the soul.
[209] 'Ali Farīd Muḥammadī, *Shī'ah Hagiography* (United Kingdom: MIU, 2013), 61.
[210] Qumī, *Safinatu Al-Biḥār Madinatu Al-Ḥikam wa Al-Āthā* , Vol. 2, 339; Ṭabarsī, Ṭabarsī, *A'alām Al-Warā* , Vol. 1, 414.

approach to the three concepts of *Khilāfah*[211]/*Khalīfah*,[212] *Welayah*[213]/*Mawlā*[214] and *Imāmah/Imām.*[215]

After Muḥammad passed away, two doctrines regarding the concept of his *Khilāfah* (successor-ship) were formed. One doctrine is known as *Maktab Al-Imāmah*, which states that this status is given by God to chosen people and was announced by Muḥammad before his death. The other doctrine is known as *Maktab Al-Khilāfah*, which states that the successor may be chosen by the people. In order to understand the fundamental difference between these two doctrines, we have to refer to the etymology of the word *Khilāfah/Khalīfah*. Ragheb Isfahani states, "*Khilafah* in Arabic language is used as being substitute, deputy, envoy, or representative of someone else."[216] *Khalīfah*, therefore, is the "one who comes after the previous main figure and fills his position."[217] This word is used with the same meaning in both the "Quran and *ḥadīth.*"[218] As ʻAsgarī points out, this word is used in the Quran to refer to the "group who came after the tribe of Noah, the group who came after the tribe of ʻĀd, the groups whom substituted and inherited the Divine scriptures."[219] Similarly in the Ḥadīth, it is used to refer to the people who "narrate the ḥadīth and tradition of Muḥammad."[220] Further investigation reveals the Quran's approach toward the word *Khalīfah* with respect to Allah, used as

---

[211] Caliphate-ship.
[212] Caliphate.
[213] Patronate-ship
[214] Patron
[215] The highest degree of in Resalah given to prophets like Muḥammadand Abraham which has Khelafah and Welayah included.
[216] Ḥusayn Ibni Muḥammad Rāghib Iṣfahanī, *Mufradāt Ragheb*(Qum: Mussesseh Tahqiqat wa Nashri Marif Ahl Al-Bayt (A.S), 2000), root (KH,L,F).
[217] ʻIzz Al-Dīn Abi Al-Ḥasan Al-Jazarī Al-Mūṣalī Ibni Athīr, *Nahayat Al-Lughah* (Iran:.., 1852) Root (KH, L, F); Muḥammad Ibni Mukarram Ibni Aḥmad Ibni Manẓūr. *Lisān Al-ʻArab* (Beirut:Dār Lisān Al-ʻArab, 1970), Root (KH,L,F).
[218]Quran. 7:69; 7:74; 7:169, 2,133; 19:59. Murtiḍā ʻAsgarī,.*Ma'āalim Al-Madrisatain* (Qum: Intisharāt ʻAllamih ʻAsgarī, 2009), Vol. 1, Ch.6. Khalīfat-u-Allah.
[219] *Ibid*.
[220] *Ibid*.

Khalīfatu Allah. As ‘Asgarī suggests, in Islamic terminology this word is used in the Quran as one who is “chosen by God, who is Imām, and magistrate of people.”[221] Mentioned in Quran 2:30, Adam and David were chosen by God to judge among people according to the divine law. Furthermore, Jacob, Isaac, Lot, and Abraham were chosen as Imāms “inspired to them the doing of good deeds, establishment of prayers and giving *Zakāt*.”[222] The addition of Allah to the word Khalīfah in the phrase *Khalīfatu Allah* sets of the boundaries of Khalīfah’s action and attributes, since God is transcendent. In contrast, in the phrase Khalīfatu Rasūl, as Muḥammad explains, it is limited to the narration of Ḥadīth and the tradition of Muḥammad “as a voluntary act.”[223] Thus, *Khalīfah* in *Khalīfatu Rasūl*, by referring to the *ḥadīth* of Muḥammad, is not chosen by God. *Khalīfatu Rasūl* was used for the first time by Abūbakr,[224] and later by ‘Umar[225] who called himself ‘*Khalīfah* of the *khalīfah*.’[226]

While Abūbakr was chosen as *Khalīfatu Rasūl*, ‘Ali remained as one who could not play the role of his *Wilayah,* as he was supposed to for being in the God-chosen position of *Mawlā*. The fact of his being the *Mawlā* was announced to the Ummah by Muḥammad prior to his death. *Mawlā*, as mentioned in the book of *Patronate And Patronage in Early And Classic Islam,* “is glossed by *Khalīfah* as one of the types of

---

[221] *Ibid*
[222] Quran 21:71-72.
[223] Nahayat Al-Lughah. Ibni Athīir; Ibni Manẓūr. Lesan Al-‘Arab. Root (KH,L,F).
[224] He is the first Khalīfah after Muḥammad. Ibni Athīr. *Nahayatu-Al-Lughah.*
[225] Second Khalīfah.
[226] ‘Abdu Al-Raḥmān Ibni Kamāl AbīBakr Ibni Muḥmmad Sābiq Al-Dīn Al-KhuḍairīAl- Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh Suyūṭī* (Egypt: Matba’t Al-S’ādah, 1952), 137-138; Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad Ibni ‘Abdullah Al-Ḥākim Al-Nishabūrī, *Mustadrak Al-Ḥākim* (Online: Maktabah Majlis, 2006), http://majles.alukah.net/showthread.php?82-%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%AF%D8%B1%D9%83-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%83%D9%85-pdf-(%D8%AE%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AA)#.UYajJMu9KSM Vol. 3, 81-82 (last Access 5 May, 2013); Awail ‘Askari, 103-104.

relationship and a tie by oath or alliance."[227] As for ʻAlī, this allegiance was taken during the event of Ghadir after the last pilgrimage offered by Muḥammad (18th Dhul Ḥajjah. 10 years A.H.[228])

Another important word used in Quran and *ḥadīth* to refer to the man of God who has divine authority over humanity is the word Imām. From an etymological point of view, this word is defined as "one role model who is followed within sayings and actions either false or true."[229] From an Islamic point of view, Imām is the "source of guidance and can be a book or a human."[230] According to the verses of Quran, these books were sent down by God, so they are identified with God. Imāms who are chosen by God from among humans, are considered non-oppressors.

While Zaynab's father was constantly referred to as *Mawlā* and Imām by Muḥammad, society's reaction and approach towards him changed after the death of Muḥammad. Therefore, ʻAli, along with some companions of Muḥammad, gathered in ʻAlī's house and refused to give their allegiance to Abubakr. As a result, ʻAli's house was attacked and Fāṭimah was hurt. Shortly after this incident, Fāṭimah's property of 'Fadak'[231] – her inheritance – was taken away. Therefore, in opposition to both incidents, Fāṭimah made an important public speech in the Masjid in front of Abūbakr.

---

[227] Monique Bernnards, Jhon Nawas ,ʻAbdallah, *Patronate And Patronage in Early And Classic Islam* (Netherlands: Brill Publication, 2005), 26.
[228] 10 March 632 CE.
[229] Quran 17:71-71; 9:10. ʻAsgarī,.*Ma'āalim Al-Madrisatain* , Vol. 1, Ch.6 Imām.
[230] Quran 2:124; 21:73; 11:17.
[231] The heart-rending story of Fadak took place after the death of Prophet PBUH. This story is called after the fertile village in the land of Hijaz that once belonged to a Jewish tribe of Bani Nadheer and was given to MuḥammadPBUH after the battle of Al-Ahzab (confederates). This battle took place in 627 when several tribes got united against the army of Muḥammad and surounded Medina. According to chapter 33 in Quran the army of Islam won with the hidden assistance of God and His angels through physiological means. Muḥammad's army is said they didn't move their swords nor their horses and camels for this battle despite of the great number of enemies. This victory as the verses of Quran states it surely belonged to God and therefore the booty belonged to God and His Prophet. Therefore, Fadak was this booty. After the death of Prophet it was transferred to his only daughter as an inheritance. Yet, shortly after the death of Muḥammad PBUH some of his companions seized the place for their own good. Fāṭimah with a brave speech

The most important impact that Fāṭimah made on Zaynab was through her eloquent speech regarding Fadak. Fāṭimah's public appearance as a woman who would always speak from behind a curtain amazed people. When her husband was taken away, she was the only one who could act in defense of her inheritance rights. Her speech is profound, its content rich in meaning. It starts by praising Allah for the mercies upon her, her family, and humanity. She reminds people of the teachings of Muḥammad and highlights her status as Muḥammad's only daughter, who never spoke wrongly. She goes on to remind the people of the open allegiance they made to 'Alī as their next *Walī*. This speech is regarded as a summary of Muḥammad's teachings, referring both to the verses and *ḥadīths* of Muḥammad. With this speech, she asked for her neglected right of inheritance regarding the land of Fadak, and also reminded the people of their neglect of the right of her husband as their next Khalīfah and *Mawlā*. Fāṭimah's only appearance in public in recorded history is when there were no men to do what what needed to be done. There are no other historical indications of Fāṭimah's interfering in the social aspects of her community, or of other public appearances.

One of Zaynab's effects as a preserver of early Islamic history was related to Fāṭimah's speech. When Zaynab was only five, she memorized the long speech her mother gave,"which was given in a skillful way and filled with eloquent vocabularies."[232] Zaynab is the only person who narrated this Ḥadīth in its complete form. For the

---

in public claimed her own property by referring to the verses of Quran and usage of Islamic law. Fatimah said to Caliphate Abū Bakr, 'Give the Fadak back to me because the Holy Prophet had reserved it for me' and presented ''Ali and Umme Aiman as witnesses. Abū Bakr requested one man and two women as witnesses. In spite of her great defense this land was not restored to her and her family until the time of the Mutiwakkel. While Fāṭimah's effort of restoring Fadak failed she made a public speech in her defense to enlighten the public of her rights. There are several narrations by different Mohadeths on this speech yet Zaynab's version is the best and the exact wordings of her mother. (Ibni Abil-Ḥadīd Madinī, *SharḥNahj Al-Balaghah*, Vol. 16, 217;Aḥmad Ibni Yaḥā Ibni Jābir Al- Baladhurī, *Futūhāt Al- Buldān* (Qum: Muasseseh Tahqiqat wa Nashr Ma'arif Ahl Al-Bayt (A.S), 1981), 47-48).

[232] 'Abdul Qādir Ibni Mulūk Shāh Badā'unī, *Muntakhabu Tawārīkh* (Kalkatah: Bibliotheca Indica, 1865), 9; Qumī, *Safinatu Al-Biḥār Madinatu Al-Ḥikam wa Al-Āthār*, Vol. 1, 558.

recitation of this speech/*ḥadīth* and "other a*ḥadīth*,"[233] people such as Ibni ʻAbbās refer to her as ʻ*ʻAqīlatu Banī Hāshim*.'[234] Scholars referred to her narration of *aḥadīth* by calling her ʻ*Muḥadithah*,'[235] meaning one that God reveals the truth to her heart.

Zaynab witnessed the patience of her mother, who bore the pain caused by people for whom her father had sacrificed his whole life to guide. While Fāṭimah was bedridden because of her miscarriage, Zaynab would "fully attend to her."[236] Fāṭimah left Zaynab with her precious will. In the presence of Asmā Binti'Amis[237], Fāṭimah gave Zaynab a white garment as Hussein's ʻ*Kafan*',[238] so she would use it when "Al-Ḥusayn is preparing for Shahādah."[239] While reciting Surah Yasīn, Fāṭimah closed her eyes and never woke up. When Zaynab became aware of her mother's death, she cried. ʻAllameh Majlesī reported Zaynab's reaction as, "Oh my beloved father! Oh Muḥammad! Surely I came to understand your words about my great loss in this world as if I have lost you today."[240]

Ninety days after the death of Muḥammad, Zaynab lost her dearest mother, killed in defense of her husband's right of Khilāfah. She was eighteen/twenty-eight (year 10 A.H). Fāṭimah is known as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, and a great role model to humanity, as one who balanced both the public and private aspects of her life. Being perfect as an individual, she set a perfect example for her society. Fāṭimah was the first revolutionary woman who defended her Imām of the time, and became a role model first for her daughter and then for all women in Islam. As her mother before her, Zaynab played an exemplary role both in her private and social life. She was a perfect worshiper, daughter,

---

[233] Zaynab narrates aḥāadīth by her father, both brothers, and Asma Binti ʻAmīd and other *ṣaḥabī* and *tābi'īn*.
[234] The wisest and the sage of tribe of Banī Hāshim.
[235] Darbandi, Fadhel. 1286.
[236] A'ẓam Shabiri, *Simaye Zaynab dar Ayneh Tarikh* (Tehran: Nashr Hajar, 2008), 82.
[237]
[238] The cloth in which Muslim wrap the dead body which is ready for burial.
[239] Bint Al-Shaṭī, *Sayyed Zaynab 'Aqīlah Banīi Hāshim (A.S)*/Baṭlatu al-Karbalā, 12.
[240] Al-Raḥmanī Hamadānī, *Fāṭimata Al-Zahrā Bahjatu Qalb Al-Muṣṭafā,* 853.

wife and mother. She became known as a perfect revolutionary figure of early Islam, and followed in her mother's footsteps, transforming them for a higher gain. While almost fifty-one years of her life remained private, she again appeared in public by attending the battle of Karbalā, and making several speeches before both men and women without fear. She remained a strong female leader; her patience and confidence was rooted in her perfect education, from which she conveyed the message of Islam, and saved it from getting distorted in its formative years. Her voice narrates the story of the battle between right and wrong. She bore extreme pain and suffering, yet she never complained. Her role in Islamic history is unique because she became the main reason the corrupted office of khilāfah, which was leading to the corruption of the message of Islam, ended. While such a revolutionary role is usually played by men in major religious traditions, including Islam, her exceptional appearance on the scene remains a remarkable example in Islamic history. She survived after the martyrdom of all but one member of her family[241], and became a leader who delivered strong speeches before the unjust *Khalīfah* of that time. Through her acts of bravery, her nephew Imām of the time was saved. She constantly moved forward to accomplish her goals and never thought of going backward. Due to her strong personality, Zaynab remains immortal among Muslim women.

In summary, Zaynab's loss of her mother and her tolerance and patience on this matter is one of the important attributes of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. As Ibni 'Arabi states, "*Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* is one who God is with her/him at all time."[242] This attribute is outstanding with Zaynab because she was set to be one who was always with God and whom God never left alone. Her high threshold for severe pain exhibited at the death of

[241] Who became the next Imām
[242] Ibni 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkyyah*. Vol.13. Ch.73, 96-102; 125-130.

her mother appeared to prove that. Such abilities are not viewed as a gift, but rather a latent ability activated by the presence of God in every moment of Zaynab's life. Her Kamāl is attributed due to God allowing her to believe that "Surely we belong to God and to Him we shall return."[243] Since one of the obstacles on the path of Kamāl is worldly attachments, *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* overcomes these by believing in this verse. Zaynab as an ordinary five-year-old child, transformed her simple knowledge of this verse into deep belief in her heart that set her on her journey toward Kamāl . The "promise of her grandfather"[244] that she would rejoin her beloved family in eternal heaven helped her practice this belief. Being certain of Mohammed's words, she was sure that by her great actions on the path of Kamāl she would return to God as '*Radhiatan Mardhiah*.'[245]

Life with Zaynab's Stepmother, Ummul Banīn

Before her death, Fāṭimah requested her husband to marry Fāṭimah Binti Al-Hazem Al-Qelābyyah,[246]who was from a noble and brave family. Fāṭimah was concerned about her children who were still very young, among them her precious daughter Zaynab who was only five. 'Ali married Fāṭimah for the sake of his children. When she arrived, she requested to be called Ummul Banīn[247] instead of Fāṭimah, because of the similarity between her and the children's mother's names. She did this to avoid emotional problems with Fāṭimah's children, who were still young and hurting, from the loss of their mother. Zaynab's life with her stepmother progressed in a steady way, since she was left in the

[243] Holy Quran 2:156.
[244] Ḥadīth Thaqalayn. ….'until my Ahl al-Bayt enter to me at the Howdh.
[245] And return to your Lord well-pleased and pleasing Him.Quran. 89:28.
[246] Bāqir Qurashi, *The life of Abbas* (Qum: Daftar Intisharat Islami, 2002), 59.
[247] She requested to be called 'Ummul Baneen' so children of Fāṭimah 'would not remember their mother' each time her name is called at home. She constantly would admit that 'she is nothing but servant of their mother.' She extremely respected Fatima Bin-i-MuḥammadSharif. *Ibid.*

"kind hands"[248] of Ummul Baneen. She grew up to be a great young lady. Ummul Banīn had several children with ʻAlī, and among them Abul Fadhl Al-ʻAbbās who developed close ties with Zaynab and Hussein.

Zaynab's Father ʻAli Ibni Abī Ṭālib

Growing up as a child with her siblings, Zaynab shared beautiful moments with her beloved father, who remained her only reliance after God. He was not only a father, but her only role model after the death of her mother. After Fāṭimah's death, people turned their backs on ʻAlī. As the most knowledgeable man of his time, he remained the only one who the '*Khulafā*'[249] would refer to when they would "come across unsolvable matters."[250] Despite the promise to act as *Mawlā* he gave to Muḥammad, ʻAlī chose to remain silent against the *Khulafā* of his time in order to protect Islam from division. Nevertheless, he was deeply affected to witness how the teachings of Islam were being forgotten. He remained lonely, for no one else was capable of understanding the heaviness in his heart. Maytham Tammār, one of the great companions of ʻAli narrates, that "'Ali would dig the well and share his sorrow with the earth and would bury them in the well."[251] Zaynab observed her father's endurance and practice of patience for the sake of God's religion for twenty-one years. She witnessed how ʻAlī tolerated the loss of his wife and his status as *Mawlā*. She praised the man who never gave up on supporting the orphans, poor and needy, despite being ignored. All these observations were preparing

---

[248] Her ancestors from mother side 'for eleven generation are known to be the best women of the society' and therefore, Ummul Baneen was raised in good hands and had a great characteristic. (Abul Faraj Iṣfahani, *Maqatel Al-Ṭalebin,* 22; ʻAbdulwāḥed Muẓaffar, *Baṭal Al'alqamī*. (Qum: Intisharat Sharif Al-Raḍi, 1992) Ch.1, 92.) Therefore, after the death of her mother, Zaynab was educated by Ummul Baneen.

[249] Plural of Khalīfah.

[250] Uthmān the third Khlīfah stated several time that if it was not for the sake of ʻAli he would be ruined.

[251] Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār*, Vol. 40, 199; ʻAbbas Qumī, *Muntaha Al-Āmā fi Tarīkh Al-Anbia wa Al-Āl* (Online: Moassesah Nashr islami, 1984) http://Imāmhussain-lib.com/arabic/book/hzbooks_list.php?pagesize=500 Vol. 1, 401 (accessed 12, April. 2013).

her for future tasks. She learned that sacrificing "family, wealth and life"[252] in the way of Allah is among the honors of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. She learned that her father's attribute of patience was a result of him giving up all ties with the materialistic aspects of life; if one requires "unity with God and for His satisfaction, he/she needs to give up on one's self and his attachments to the world."[253] Practicing patience along with her father, she was his only source of exhilaration after God. While 'Ali could not fulfill his universal role as *Mawlā*, it was the hope of raising his children as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* and being in God's good graces that kept him moving forward.

One of the sweet moments of 'Alī's life took place when he was testing his daughter's understanding of Tawḥīd.[254] The story is shared by Naqdī. One day as Zaynab was sitting on her father's lap she was asked to say "*Wāḥid*," and Zaynab said one. Then 'Ali asked her to say "*Ithnān*," but Zaynab remained silent and never said two. 'Alī asked for the reason and Zaynab responded, "Dear father, the tongue that pronounces *Wāḥid* shall never confess two! Her father hugged her and kissed her."[255] Zaynab was taught that the word *Wāḥid* is used for the oneness of Allah, and therefore she would never use another concept next to this oneness, as God was defined as one and only one in her mind. This is one of the examples for which she is viewed as having the *'Aql*'[256] that is united to the source of the Divine. Evidently what Zaynab viewed as Oneness of Allah is the truth. She saw this truth manifested by the will of God and Zaynab appereared to understand the nature of this truth. Ibni 'Arabī said, that a power over herone's faculties is among the characteristics of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Mentioned in *Al-Futūḥāt Al-*

[252]Quran 9:111.
[253] Winston. 1982, 50-53.
[254] Knowledge of Oneness of God.
[255] Naqdi, *Zaynabu Alkubrā*, 34.
[256] Faculty.

Makkyyah, messengers are the wisest amongst the wise in terms of using their faculties; therefore they view and prove what *'Aql* proves.'[257]

'Alī is known as Quran 'Al-Nāṭiq' by scholars.[258] This title was given to him not only because he memorized of the whole Quran and knew the meanings by heart, but because he lived the example of every single verse within the Quran, and would practice them wholeheartedly. He is considered as the only '*Kātīb*'[259] of '*Waḥy*'[260] who was present at all times when Muḥammad would recite the verses. In situations when 'Alī was absent, Muḥammad would call him and make sure that 'Alī would write the recited verses down. Living in the house where 'Alī would recite Quran in the early morning and at night was one of the great advantages of Zaynab's life. Imām 'Alī would constantly have her enter "while reciting Quran,"[261] and they would discuss the verses and their deep meanings. This practice of 'Alī's was based on his belief that he was responsible for "teaching Quran to his children as a father."[262] She grew up learning the Islamic laws, wisdom, knowledge and religion from a man who knew seventy-two layers of Quran. Spending so much time with her father, scholars describe her as one who resembles 'Alī in "logic and behavior."[263] The great impact of 'Ali changed her into a great scholar of Quran who had a perfect grip of recitation, meanings, commentary, Islamic jurisprudence, stories and secrets of worship. Therefore, Zaynab, who had learned constancy from her mother and the knowledge of Quran from her father, established

---

[257] Ibni 'Arabī, *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkyyah* Vol.9. Ch.71, 368, 332,333.
[258] Ayatollah Mirza Javād Tabrizī, *Serato Al-Nejat fi Ajvbati Al-Isteftat* (Qum: Al-Muntakhabat, 1995), 566,567.
[259] Scriber.
[260] revelation
[261] Dhabīḥ Allah Maḥallatī, *Riāḥīn Al-Sharī'ah* (Qum: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islami, 1970), Vol. 3, 50.
[262] "The father is responsible of three things for his child. To choose him a deserving name, to teach him manners and to teach him Quran." 'Ali Ibni Abī Ṭalib, *Nahjulbalagheh* (New York: Tarikh Tarsil Quran, 1996), 339.
[263] Nūr Al-Dīn Jazairī, *Khaṣāiṣu Al-Zaynabieh* (Najaf: 2011), 210.

"regular classes in Medina"[264] to teach the women of her society. She continued these later on in Kūfah. Thus she was known as '*Faṣihah*'[265] and '*Bālighah*.'[266] This quality of Zaynab highlights one of the social characteristics of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*: he/she is responsible for educating his/her society, to "guide them towards their goal of creation."[267] As Mu'allimu Al-Mulk, said[268] Zaynab shared her precious knowledge of Quran as the *Zakāt*[269] of her knowledge.

'Alī was not only known for his knowledge of Quran and religion. He was also well known for his eloquent speeches and written works. As a smart student of 'Alī, Zaynab always attended Masjid, and listened to 'Alī's sermons when he became the fourth *Khalīfah* in 665 C.E. She picked up the skills of delivering sermons and making eloquent speeches from her father. As a woman, she never made any public speeches, except after Karbalā when all but one of the men in her family were killed. She delivered fascinating speeches in which the best Arabic speakers, such as Hazlam Ibni Kathīr,[270] praised her eloquence and art in delivering sermons. He ran out of words to describe the expressiveness of her speech and therefore states, "I only can relate the greatness of Zaynab's word by referring it to her father 'Alī."[271] Zaynab's speech was not only eloquent in its tone; it hit the heart of its audience. Khazimatu Al-Asadī reports that "after Zaynab's speech in Kūfah I witnessed prefuse tears being shed while women were

---

[264] M. H. Bilgrami, *The victory of truth: The life of Zaynab binte 'Ali,* Ch.3; Naqdi, *ZainabAl-Kubrā,* 144; Al-Raḥmanī Hamadānī, *Fāṭimata Al-Zahrā Bahjatu Qalb Al-Muṣṭafā,* 862.
[265] Skillfully fluent.
[266] Intensely eloquent.
[267] "And O beloved! We sent not you but with Messenger ship encircling entire mankind, as a bearer of glad tidingsand a warner, but most of the people do not know." Quran 34:28.
[268] Teacher of Universe. Ibni Arabī *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkyyah*, Ch.5 458.
[269] Almsgiving.
[270] Sayed Raḍī Al-Dīn Abū Al-Qasim 'Ali Ibni Mūsā Ibni Ja'far Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Al-Ṭawūs Al-'Alawī Al-Ḥasanī , *Luhūf* (Tehran: Naba, 2003), 174.
[271] Ibni Arabī *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkyyah,* Vol. 2, 173; Mufīd, *Amālī* ,323; Al-Ṭawūs, *Lohūf, 174;* Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā,* 153. From the book of Al-Bayan wa Al-Tebyan.

ripping at their collars in extreme grief."[272] These speeches were delivered after Karbalā, when Zaynab was at the peak of her Kamāl and became *Khalīfatu Allah*. Therefore, her words are projecting the events of Karbalā and her presence as *Khalīfatu Allah* was being manifested through the control of the hearts and the minds of the crowd. Thus, she is viewed to have performed her "*Risālah*"[273] perfectly by being a voice of Karbalā, and also as a messenger of truth and a sister of resistance.

Although ʻAlī was one of the greatest influences on Zaynab's knowledge, she was also connected to the same source as her father. In addition to reports in history by different scholars, there are indications in history that Zaynab's speeches even amazed infallible Imāms. As she grew older, she reached the peak of her perfection in religion and knowledge. The depth of Zaynab's "Divine knowledge'[274] was constantly praised by all *Infallible* Imāms throughout history. While being praised because of her accomplishments, she worked towards becoming the perfect addition to Kamāl of ʻAlī, or the beauty of her father.

Zaynab's marriage with 'Abdullah Ibni Ja'far

While following the path of Muḥammad, ʻAli and Fāṭimah, Zaynab came to the age of marriage. One of the most important traditions practiced by the Prophet of Islam is the Sunnah of Marriage. He said, "One who gets married is completing half of his faith and the other half will be completed through the individual's worships."[275] He practiced the tradition of marriage for his own daughter Fāṭimah and ʻAlī in a perfect Islamic way. As for Zaynab - who lost her mother and then her father - her stepmother was in charge

[272] *Ibid.*
[273] Responsibility.
[274] Imām Al-Ḥasan and Imām Al-Ḥusayn called her as one who is from Shajarato Al-Nabuwwah wa Ma'dano Risālah, *Zendeginameye Fāṭimah wa Zaynab*, 12.
[275] Speaking.

of her marriage. Through this stage of her life, one can witness the development of new attributes within Zaynab on her journey of Kamāl .

Zaynab's approach towards marriage is not a simple approach based on concern for the wealth, fame or power of the man she wants to marry. Rather, her intention for marriage is to better her inclination towards Kamāl . She seeks a husband who can be a positive influence and support of her pursuit of Kamāl, and be a deserving father capable of educating her children. Her approach towards marriage is for the purpose of producing a pure generation who will follow the path of Kamāl . As her grandfather and parents instructed her toward fulfilling her goal of creation, for her the main reason for marriage is God's satisfaction. With the slogan, "Obey God and obey the messenger,"[276] she entered a new stage of her life.

She was engaged to and married Abdullah Ibni Ja'far,[277] her cousin. Both Zaynab and Abdullah Ibni Ja'far were from outstanding families of *Hashimite*[278] descent who "preferred to marry within their own group."[279] This practice was to keep the generations on the path of creating *Shajaratu Ṭayyibah*.[280] Her first concern was that her husband's family should have a spirit of bravery among his ancestors. She was looking forward to bearing strong sons through her marriage to support her Imām in the future. The conditions she put on her marriage are noteworthy.

She could still remember her mother's last words about her duty towards her brother Al-Ḥusayn in the battle of Karbalā, and how she has to accompany him.

---

[276]Quran 3:32.
[277] He is son of Ja'far Ibn-i-AbuṬalib ('Ali's brother) and Asma Binti Khaṣ'amiah .
[278] Hashim is considered as grand grandfather of Prophet.
[279] This practice is rooted on one of the comments of Muḥammadwhile watching the children of 'Ali and Ja'far. He stated: "are sons are worthy of our daughters and are daughter worthy to be weded to our sons." (Ibni Shahr Āshūb, *Manāqib Ali Abī Ṭalib,* Vol. 3,305; Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār,* Vol. 24, Ch.120, 92.
[280] Pure Generation who are considered as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Quran 14:24.

Therefore, she was determined to fulfill her mother's wish by informing her potential fiancé about her future intentions. Her two conditions were, first, to have permission to meet Al-Ḥusayn every day and, second, if Al-Ḥusayn decided to travel that she would have permission to accompany him on any journey.[281] When writing the contract for the marriage, Zaynab asked for the right of divorce, which is only given to men in Islamic law. This is not the normal practice of Islam, but her intentions and her reason validate her request. She was aware of her destiny and the great responsibility for which she was chosen by God, to follow and support her brother Al-Ḥusayn. Therefore, before marrying ʻAbdullah, she asked for permission to accompany her future Imām. Her condition is a proof of Zaynab's honesty and strength in regard to her future mission and task. Thus, her ultimate goal was to avoid all the materialistic attachments of marriage, and focus on the spiritual attainment of this sacred sacrament. To understand her intentions regarding marriage, one needs to have more insight into the man who Zaynab chose to be her husband.

Zaynab's husband, ʻAbdullah Ibni Jʻafar, was a well-known figure within his community. ʻAbdullah was born to Ja'far Ibni AbuṬalib and Asma Bini-Khas'amiah in the year 615, seven years before the migration of Muḥammad from Mekkah to Medina. His father Ja'far Ibni Abū Ṭālib was the Prophet's cousin and ʻAlī's brother, and one of the bravest men among the Arabs. He was the messenger of the Prophet Muḥammad to Abyssinia, in order to spread the message of Islam with his wise discussion with the king[282]of that time. According to one group of scholars, ʻAbdullah is the "first child who

[281] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā,* 194.
[282]Abyssinia, Ethiopia.

was born among immigrants of Abyssinia."[283] He was born in the month of Rajab, five years after Mab'ath[284] (610, thirteen years before Hijra) and he was ten by the time Muḥammad passed away. A second group of narratives indicates that he was born three[285] years after the Mab'ath of the Prophet. The second possibility is not accurate because the Prophet's invitation to Islam was hidden for three years. The infidels of Makkah would not oppose his invitation to Islam because they did not know about the new religion. As mentioned in history, the immigration of Muslims towards Abyssinia was after Muḥammad made a public announcement as an appointed Prophet by God and was rejected by unbelievers of his time. Since this event took place three years after *Mab'ath*, the migration must have taken place later on. Therefore, the possibility that 'Abdullah was born in the third year of *Mab'ath* cannot be accurate. Considering his birthday is five years after *Mab'ath*, he was ten to fourteen years older than Zaynab.

Coming from a respected family, he followed his father in faith, bravery and other characteristics of strength. He spent many years abroad, but was well educated in Islam, and upon his arrival in Saudi Arabia he took to the battlefield against the enemies of Islam. It was in the battle of Muta[286] that his father attained martyrdom, after which he was called Yabna Zi Al-Janāhayn[287] (son of the owner of two wings). He grew up under

---

[283] Ibni Ḥajar Al-'Athqalānī, Al-Iṣabāh fi Ma'rifat Al-Ṣaḥābat (Beirut, Dār Al-Jīl, 1992), Vol. 2, 289; Muḥammad Ibni Isḥāq Ibni Yasār Ibni Khiyār, *Sireh Ibni Isḥāq* (Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmyyah, 2004), 226; Al-Juzī, *Tadhkeratu Al-Khawwaṣ,* 172.

[284] The day that Muḥammad was chosen as the last Prophet for Muslims.

[285] Online *Daeratolma'aref A'lamai*, Vol. 12, 282.

[286] Abī 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibni 'Umar Wāqedī. *Maghāzi Rasūl Allah* (Cairo : Nashr Kutub Al-Qadīmat, 1948) Vol. 2, 576.

[287] Stated in Maghazi that when Ja'far was killed prophet Muḥammadvisited his house to convey his condolences to his wife Asma. When arrived he hugged Ja'far's both son and he cried so hard that his tears would fall from his beard on the floor. Then he notified the wife on her husband death and spoke about his braveries in the battle field. He revealed to her that her husband is now in heaven and was granted two wings as a special reward. Then on pulpit he announced the same message to the public and praised his brother soul and grieved. (Wāqedī. *Maghāzi Rasūl Allah*, Vol. 2, 584; *Kāmil* Vol. 2, 115; Al-Juzī, *Tadhkeratu Al-Khawwaṣ,* 173).

the constant care of Muḥammad and his prayers[288] for him. ‘Abdullah, Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn are the only children[289] who made an oath with Muḥammad after his *Mab‘ath*. He was not only considered at *Saḥābah*[290]of Muḥammad, but he was also the *Saḥābah* of, Al-Ḥasan, Al-Ḥusayn, Zein Al-‘Abedīn and Muḥammad Baqir.[291] He is known as a *Rāwī* of *ḥadīth* in both Sunni[292] and Shī‘ah[293] schools of thought.

Abdullah’s strong background was not his only outstanding quality. His teachers and role models also made him a promising candidate for Zaynab’s marriage. He was raised directly by the prophet Muḥammad after his father passed away. Imām ‘Alī was his guardian until he came of age. He was known as a handsome and sincere man who always cared for the poor and needy. He was known as Jawād,[294] the most generous man among the Arabs. As products of the best educational and learning about the values of life, Zaynab and ‘Abdullah had a simple marriage, even though ‘Abdullah was a man of wealth and means. Zaynab’s simple style of life was another aspect of her Kamāl. This simplicity had its source in her great care and concern she had for the people of her

[288] Ja’far was a smart and creative kid who made toys out of clay and would sell. Once Muḥammad saw him making a toy and asked him for the purpose of such. Ja’far responded that he sell the toys and buys dates to eat in return. Prophet PBUH then prayed for God’s mercy upon his business. After such pray he would always gain benefit in his business interaction even when grew up. (Qumī, *Safinatu Al-Biḥār Madinatu Al-Ḥikam wa Al-Āthār*, Vol. 2, 126.).

[289] Ḥadīth of Imām Sadeq. (Aḥmad Ibni Muḥammad Ibni ‘Abd Rabbah Ibni Ḥabīb Ibni Ḥadī Ibni Sām, *Al-‘Aqd Al-Farid* (Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmyyah, 1983), Vol. 5, 133). Also ‘Ali ibni Abū Ṭālib was the first kid and the first person who made an oath with Muḥammadto accept him as Prophet and supports him with all means. This event took place in the night where Muḥammadgathered his all relative to conveyed his prophet hood ‘’Ashirat Al-‘Aqrabīn’(Quran 26:214)

[290] Companion.

[291] ‘Izz Al-Dīn Abi Al-Ḥasan Al-Jazarī Al-Mūṣalī Ibni Athīr, *Asad Al-Ghābbah fi M’arifat Al-Ṣahabat*(Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmyyah, 2009), Vol.3. P.135.While Ghamezi considered him as the Sahabah of five figures mentioned above yet Tusi does not include him as the Sahabah of Al-Ḥusayn and Zein Al-‘Abedeen and Momammad Ibni Bāqir. There is aplace to ponder why Tusi does not include him and there are also no mentions of him in books of Rejal. (Abū Ja’far Muḥammad Ibni Ḥasan Tusi, *Rijāl Al-Tusī* (Qum: Jami’ah Al-Mudarresīn, 1984), 23, 46; Abū Al-Qāsim Al-Khūī *Mu’jam Al-Rijāl Al-Ḥadīth* (Iraq: SaifoAli, 2011), Vol. 10, 142).

[292] After his father’s death, there are indication of thirteen Ḥadīth which he narrates from Muḥammadand it is mentioned in Musnad of Ahmad. (Aḥmad Ibni Ḥanbal, *Musnad Aḥmad* (Lahūr: Maktabah Rḥmanyyah, 1837), Vol.1.P.205.); (Afkār Al-Dulyyah, 1998), 179-181.

[293] Ṭabarī mentions that Ja’far used to memorized Prophets words and would narrate them properly.(Muḥibb Al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibni ‘AbdullahṬabari, *Ẓakhāiru Al-‘Aqabī fi Manāqib Ẓawi Al-Qurbā* (Egypt: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Maṣryyah, 2010), 219; Abd Rabbah Ibni Ḥabīb Ibni Ḥadī Ibni Sām, *Al-‘Aqd Al-Farid,*Vol. 2, 212.).

[294] *Al-Isi’ab*. Vol. 3, 18; Abū ‘Abdullah Ibni ‘Umar Ibni Ḥusayn Ibni Ḥasan Taymiyi Bakriyi Ṭabaristanī Fakhr Al-Razī, *Al-Shajaratu Al-Mubārakahah Fi Ansāb AL-Ṭālibiyah* (Qum: Manshurat Maktabatu Al-Mar’ashī, 1988).203.

society. As a woman who was the role model within her community, other women would look up to her. Therefore, she lived her life as an equal to the lowest members of society. As one who went through different stages of Kamāl, Zaynab was aware of the fact that the human *nafs* leads towards the materialistic aspects of life, drawing people into an animalistic existence.[295] By practicing simplicity, she defeated the desire caused by wealth. Her concern over small details would create hope within the hearts of her followers. She would not only put the poor and needy at ease; she would direct their attention towards more important concerns of life, such as worship and striving toward God's satisfaction. Despite Zaynab's great concern towards every member of her society in Kūfah, the people eventually turned their back on Zaynab and let her down during the events of Karbalā.

Zaynab and ʻAbdullah had five children: ʻAlī, ʻAuwn, Muḥammad, ʻAbbās, Akbar and Umm Al-Kulthūm. They all grew up to become distinguished figures in society. ʻAwn[296] achieved the status of *Shahādah* at the battle of Karbalā. Zaynab followed her great role models in raising her children. Her style of education was so impressive that many people would recognize her as their mother based on their manners and behaviour. Ultimately, her descendents from her son ʻAlī[297] were also known as *Zaynabī*,[298] meaning "from Zaynab."

Although her married life added to her responsibilities, Zaynab was never far from her father and her family. Zaynab's performance as the beauty of her father was not in personal and social achievements, but in learning and teaching the knowledge of

[295]Shubbār, *Tafsīr Al-Qurān Al-Karīm*. Vol. 7, 153.
[296] Abul Faraj Iṣfahani, *Maqatel Al-Ṭalebin,* 95.
[297] Ibni Qutibah, *Al-maʾārefQuṭaibah*, 127; Najm Al-Dīn Abi Al-Ḥasan ʻAli Ibni Muḥammad Al-ʻalawī Al-ʻAmrī Al-Majdī, *Ansab Al-Ṭalibin* (Qum: Maṭbaʼh Sayyed u Shuhadā (A.S), 1988), 1297.
[298] *Ibid.*

religion, Quran and language. Nevertheless, she was referred to as "the best wife"[299] by ʻAbdullah, which brought her several steps closer to becoming the perfect beauty of her father. While ʻAbdullah and Zaynab spent their life under the mentorship of ʻAlī, they received one of the best written wills in the world. The content of this will was a summary of the steps toward perfection. ʻAlī wrote this letter after he and ʻAbdullah[300] came back from the battle of Saffīn. The letter was in the care of Al-Ḥasan, as he was Waṣī[301] of ʻAlī and the next Imām. In reality, this letter was not only written to Al-Ḥasan but it was for Al-Ḥusayn, Zaynab, ʻAbdullah, and all humanity. The rest of Zaynab's journey towards Kamāl is based on practicing the advice given in this letter written by her loving and caring father.[302]

Shahādah of Father

Zaynab's next challenge was the loss of the 2nd greatest man in her life, her father. ʻAlī's martyrdom[303] took place in Kūfah[304] when he was sixty-two (21st of Ramadān, year 40 A.H). In Saḥar,[305] the 19th of Ramadān, ʻAlī was struck on the forehead with a poisoned sword by Ibni Muljam Al-Murādī while in Sajdah in the masjid of Kūfah. Since he was close to the house of Zaynab, he was taken there. His last visit with Zaynab took place a few hours prior to his departure from her house towards the Masjid. He was the guest[306] of Ifaṭār[307] and Suhūr[308] at Zaynab's house. ʻAlī did not want his daughter to see

---

[299] M. H. Bilgrami, *The victory of truth: The life of Zaynab binte ʻAli,* Ch.2.
[300] ʻAli Ibni Abī Ṭālib, *Nahjul Balāghah,* letter num. 31.
[301] In Islam the eldest son is usually the one who the will is written in his care.
[302] For the complete version of the Will refer to the Appindix 3.
[303] ʻAlī was stabbed by sword on the forehead while offering the morning prayer in Sajdah.
[304] City of Kūfah is located in current Iraq.
[305] Early morning before the sunrise.
[306] It was Zaynab's turn to host her father as ''Alī would take turn in visiting his children during month of Ramadhan. (Muḥammad Ibni Muḥammad N'umān Mufīd, *Al-Irshād* (Qum: Muasseseh Āli Bayt,1993), 169; Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār,* Vol.41. P.300.
[307] Breaking fast.
[308] Starting the fast.

him wounded, yet there was no other option. Zaynab witnessed the presence of Izraīl[309] for the third time in her life. During the last moments that Zaynab spent with her father she raised an important question. Zaynab referred to Ummi Ayman's *ḥadīth*, which she narrated from Muḥammad. "Dear father will Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn become Shahīd similar to you and my mother?" 'Alī confirmed Umme Ayman's Ḥadīth and said:

> "The day will come that you and the daughters of Muḥammad will be taken as hostages. They will bring you to this city (Kufah) while you have fear of being deprived and harassed. Then be patient and remain patient and show resistance. By God who created human from a seed, on that day there will be no Walīu Allah other than you, and no friends and lovers of Ahlulbayt than a group which accompanies you. So be patient and remain patient. I heard from Muḥammad that in this day Satan along with his children and his army would wander around and he will tell his companions: O group of Satans, today we took our revenge from Adam, and thus we strived to be rooted his race. Do your best to cause doubt within the heart of people of Kūfah and create enmity within their hearts towards the Ahl al-Bayt of Muḥammad…"[310]

The scene that 'Alī described took place not very long after his death. The people of Kūfah, who had benefited from 'Alī's benevolent *Khalīfah*, had turned their back on his family after his martyrdom.

Zaynab asking the question about an event which she had forknowledge of was to use her father's wisdom and advice as to how to cope with the impending situation. 'Alī's advice is to be patient. The secret of this advice has to do with the concept of patience from 'Alī's point of view. 'Alī is a man who had battled against oppression, and thus raised revolutionary children. He taught them to defeat evil with goodness and truth. Yet, at this moment he advised his daughter to practice patience. The first reason is that Zaynab's enemy in this case is not the people. The real enemy was the Caliphate of the time who have deceived the people. Therefore, in the role of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* who is

---

[309] Angel of death.
[310] Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār* , Vol. 45, 183

Khalīfatu Allah suggests, he or she must care about those who have been misguided. Thus, ‘Alī suggestsion for being patient to restore the certenty of faith in the hearts of *Kufiān.*[311]

The first part of this *ḥadīth* is narrated by Umme Ayman, who heard it from Muḥammad, while the second part of this *ḥadīth* is narrated by ‘Alī, who heard it from Muḥammad. In this second part, ‘Alī is drawing Zaynab’s attention towards another important matter, which is the enmity of Satan towards the people of God. Satan’s enmity towards humans started with his jealousy towards Adam, and his revenge is being carried out throughout the centuries, and it includes *Ahl al-Bayt*. As Satan constantly targets prophets, messengers, Al-*Insān Al-Kāmil* and, in one word, all *Khalīfatu Allah’*s, the only way to defeat him is to remain patient. Finally ‘Alī is reminding Zaynab of the main pillar of Islam as obedience towards Allah, not people. If Zaynab seeks *Kufiān*’s approval and attention, she is no longer considering God’s satisfaction, and will end up obeying someone other-than-God. So ‘Alī is warning his daughter of this small but very essential detail. Ultimately, with one word - *Sabran Sabrā*[312]- ‘Alī guaranteed his daughter’s success in her journey toward fulfilling God’s expectation, as he knows that “God is with patient people.”[313] Her last moments with her father remained a source of inspiration for Zaynab’s eloquent speech in Kūfah after the battle of Karbalā, which will be discussed in detail. Like his wife Fāṭimah, ‘Alī was also buried in a hidden location.[314]

---

[311] People of Kūfah.
[312] Be patient and remain patient.
[313] “Seek assistance from God, surely God is with patient people If God is by man’s side the ultimate result is success.” Quran 2:153.
[314] His grave was hidden up until Imām Ṣādiq the sixth Imām and duringthe Abbasid Khalīfah. According Shekh Mufīd, it was Imam Ṣadiq who revealed the location of Imām Alī’s grave in Najaf located in current Iraq.

Zaynab and Imām Al-Ḥasan

After the tragic martyrdom of Zaynab's father and her *walī*, it was her eldest brother Al-Ḥasan whom she had to accompany and support as an "Imām of the time."'[315] Al-Ḥasan lived during the time of Mu'āwiah Ibni Abu Sufyān,[316] who was in favor of 'Alī's death so he could take his position. When his plot for 'Alī's death succeeded, he planned to announce his Khilāfah, and was confronted with Al-Ḥasan's opposition. It was during a battle that the rivals settled the matter of Khalīfah with a peace treaty. Al-Ḥasan's decision[317] was made for the sake of the society and the survival of the religion. Despite giving up the Khilāfah he still remained the Imām of time. There are several narrations by Al-Ḥasan regarding Zaynab and their interactions, and Al-Ḥasan constantly refers to his sister as "the treasury of prophethood."[318] After drinking poisoned milk given to him by his wife, Al-Ḥasan felt severe pain within his stomach and began to throw up "blood and his liver."[319] When Zaynab came to know about the incident she rushed towards Al-Ḥasan's house. Al-Ḥasan asked her to "inform Al-Ḥusayn as he had to hand down his last will"[320] to his younger brother. As Al-Ḥasan lay dying[321] world,

---

[315] The Prophet of Islam, peace and blessings be upon him and his family, said: "Whosoever dies without recognizing the Imām of his time dies the death of the Jahiliyyah(ignorance). (Aḥmad Ibni Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad*, 56.

[316] Mu'awiah was known as Katib Al-Wahy and smart and shred as a political figure of his time. He was a man of skillful talks and a meek one. He established the Umayyad dynasty. Within his both battles with Ahl al-Bayt, he managed his way to end the battle in his own favor. His first battle known as battle of Siffin was with '''Ali where Muawiah commanded his army to locate Qurans as the peak of spears. While they claimed that Muslims would not fight Quran they tricked '''Ali's army and lead them into peaceful talks. After ten months, the peaceful talk was held between 'Amre Ibn-i- 'Aas of Mu'awiah and Abu Musa Ash'ari as representative of '''Ali's army. Tricked Abu Musa removed '''Ali from Khilāfah as he was promised by 'Amr to does the same thing with Muawiah. While 'Amr acted as opposite as of what he had promised '''Ali was located in weaken position. Mu'awiah was chasing his dreams. After '''Ali's martyrdom Mu'awiah prepared for a war against Al-Ḥasan.

[317] When people in Madinah disagreed with Imām Al-Ḥasan's attitude and questioned his wisdom he replied that "his actions were similar to that of Prophet Khidhr who acted to save on three occasions the lives and property of Orphans and many believers of God. Even Prophet Musa was unable to comprehend the wisdom of those actions until this was explained to him." (S.M.R Shabbarstory of Holy Ka'abah and it's people. Ch.6.)

[318] Muḥammad Muḥammad Ishtihārdī, *Furūgh Tābān Kawthar* (Tehran: Burhān, 2000), 74-76.

[319] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā*, 142.

[320] Maḥallatī, *Riāḥīn Al-Sharī'ah,* Vol. 3, 74.

[321] Al-Ḥasan passed away at age forty seven (7th or 28th of Safar, year 50 A.H).

Zaynab was overcome with grief. To this was added the extreme torment that came later when she had to witness her brother's body being desecrated. As a group of Muslims forbade *Ahl al-Bayt* to bury the body of Al-Ḥasan next to his grandfather. They not only disturbed the funeral but also disrespected Al-Ḥasan's body by throwing arrows towards it. It is mentioned in *Anwār Al-Bahiyah* "that seventy arrows were taken out off his body afterwards."[322] Seeing Al-Ḥasan's white Kafan[323] covered in blood reminded her of her mother's bleeding chest and her father's bleeding forehead.

Sister of Resistance along with Al-Ḥusayn Her Beloved Sayyed Al-Shuhadā[324]

While Mu'āwiah was still in power, Al-Ḥusayn became the third Imām, and in keeping his promise made to Al-Ḥasan, he remained silent on the matter of *Khilāfah* for eleven years. Meanwhile, Mu'āwiah called openly for the Bay'ah[325] throughout the Islamic country. Imām Al-Ḥusayn, along with many people from the family of 'Abūbakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, Marwān and even 'Ayishah[326] did not accept Yazīd's *Khilāfah*.'[327] The majority of the rejectors of Yazīd's *Khilāfah* were killed by M'āwiah's hidden plans, including Imām Al-Ḥasan. Shortly after Mu'āwiah died (680 C.E.), his son Yazīd Ibni Mu'āwiah[328] became the *Khalīfah*. Although he tried to convince Al-Ḥusayn to accept

---

[322] 'Abbās Ibni Muḥmad Riḍā Qumī, *Anwār Al-Bahiyah* (Tehran: Kitab Furūshī Islāmī, 1955), 83.
[323] Shroud.
[324] Prince of martyrs.
[325] Allegiance.
[326] 'Ayishah is considered as one who accepted Mu'āwiah and voted for his Khilāfah yet she disagrees with Yazīd's Khilāfah.
[327] Ismā'il Ibni 'Umar Ibn Kathir Al-Qurashī Al-Damishqī, *Al-Bidāya wa Al- Nihāyah* (Damishq: 'Iddah Dar Al-Nashr,2003), Vol. 8, 891; Aḥmad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Ḥajar Ibni Asqalānī Kan'ānī, *Fataḥu Al- Bārī* (Beirut: Dār Al-Ma'rifah, 2000), Vol. 13, 80;Muḥammad Ibni 'Uthmān Ibni Qāymāz Shamsi Al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullah Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar alam Al-Nubala* (Egypt: Maktabah Tafiqyyah, 1987),Vol.3, 225;
[327] Ismā'il Ibni 'Umar Ibn Kathir Al-Qurashī Al-Damishqī, *Tārīkh Ibn-i-Kathir*, Vol.6. P.159; Al-Imāma wa Al-Siyasa. Vol.1. P.164;
[328]Abul Faraj '''Alī Ibni Al-Ḥusayn isfahani in Maqatelu Ṭālibīn mentioned the story of martyrdom of Al-Ḥasan. As Mu'awiah sent poison to Ja'adah Bint-i-'Ashath ibn-i-Qais to kill her husband he promised her with wealth and marriage of his son Yazid with her. Al-Ḥasan's wife poisoned her husband and afterward asked for Mua'awiah to fulfill his promise. Mu'awiah sent her the money but he said that he loves Yazid and cannot bear his death. (Iṣfahani, *Maqatel Al-Ṭalebin*, Vol. 1, 13.

him as the next *Khalīfah*, he realized it was hopeless to try to convince him. Therefore, like his father, he decided to kill Al-Ḥusayn while he was in Medina. Knowing about Yazīd's ploy, Al-Ḥusayn left Medina with the intention of offering the *Ḥajj-u-Ṭamattu'*.[329]

Along with Al-Ḥusayn was a group of fifty men and women including Zaynab, Al-Ḥusayn's household, his relatives and some of his companions. As Zaynab was preparing to leave without her husband, 'Abdullah sent "his two sons 'Awn and Muḥammad"[330] with her to accompany Al-Ḥusayn. 'Abdullah remained[331] in Medina. It is noted that Zaynab traveled seven times during her life. Her first trip was considered the only pleasant one, with her father who was going to Kūfah for *Khilāfah*. "He dealt with her with such a high level of respect."[332] Now she was going along with Al-Ḥusayn , her beloved brother, who also adored her and treated her with a high level of respect.

The love between Zaynab and Al-Ḥusayn is said to be a sacred love given by Allah. It is reported that Zaynab's love for Al-Ḥusayn was to the extent that as an infant, She would stop crying only when "looking at Al-Ḥusayn's face."[333] When Fāṭimah discovered this love between siblings she asked her father about it. Fāṭimah was curious to know why Zaynab was so attached to Al-Ḥusayn that if she did not see him for an hour or so she would become very upset. Fāṭimah noticed that Zaynab had "peace of mind and

---

[329] This is the main pilgrimage that must be done by a qualified Muslim at least once a life time.
[330] Among 'Abdullah's two sons only 'Awn is Zaynab's son. (Aḥmad Ibni Yaḥā Ibni Jābir Ibni Dāwūd Al-Bilādharī, *Ansāb Al-Ashrāf* (Beirut, Dār Al-Fikr, 1996), Vol. 3, 422; Iṣfahani, *Maqatel Al-Ṭalebin,* 95).
[331] 'Abdullah was a man of war and a brave one. In response to the reason which A'bdullah did not accompany Al-Ḥusayn in his trip there are two suggestions. One group of scholars believe that he was sick and lost his eye sight and that's why he couldn't accompany Al-Ḥusayn while other group believe that he stayed in Medina along with some other famous figures of time such as Muḥammad Hanafiah Imām Ali's son, Laila one of Imām Al-Ḥusayn s' wives, Ummu Salamah, wife of Muḥammad and Ummul Banīn wife, of Imām 'Ali who sent 'Abbās her son along with Al-Ḥusayn . These great figures remained to keep Medina as a safe place and away from Umayad's shrewd plans. (Al-Qazwīnī, *Zaynab ,* 115.)
[332] *Zendegani Fāṭimah and Zayna,* 14.
[333] Jazāirī, *Khaṣāiṣu Al-Zaynabiah*, 336.

heart only when Al-Ḥusayn is next to her."[334] This love grew over time. Zaynab would start her prayers after looking at Al-Ḥusayn's face. As Muḥammad told his daughter Fāṭimah, this love was divinely bestowed between the sister and the brother so as to become a source of strength for them throughout the hard stages of their lives, especially at Karbalā. As the caravan left Medina towards Makkah, Zaynab was constantly shown respect by her brother Al-Ḥusayn. Her high spiritual and religious position before Al-Ḥusayn was to such an extent that "Al-Ḥusayn would stand before her prior to her entrance"[335] to his tent. The caravan arrived at Makkah where they planned to stay, offering their pilgrimage in a safe place. Bloodshed is forbidden at this holy site.

During their stay in Makkah from the month of "Rajab until *Dhul Ḥajjah*"[336] they had received thousands of letters written by the people of Kūfah expressing discontent against the *Khalīfah*. The letters were filled with oaths of support for Al-Ḥusayn encouraging him to go to war against Yazīd, the unrighteous *Khalīfah*. Al-Ḥusayn was known among the Kūfians[337]as a man of bravery and righteousness who deserved to be *Khalīfah*. Thus, Muslim Ibni 'Aqīl was sent to Kūfah as Al-Ḥusayn's messenger to gather their Bay'ah. He wrote back to Al-Ḥusayn saying "18,000 men from Kūfah promised"[338] to accompany Al-Ḥusayn against Yazīd. Meanwhile, 'Ubaidullah Ibni Zyad[339] brought Imām Al-Ḥusayn's mission to Yazīd's attention. Furious about Al-Ḥusayn's plan, Yazīd ordered his people to kill Al-Ḥusayn during his performance of Ḥajj.

---

[334] Maḥallatī, *Riāḥīn Al-Sharī'ah,* Vol. 3, 41.
[335] Al-Raḥmanī Hamadānī, *Fāṭimata Al-Zahrā Bahjatu Qalb Al-Muṣṭafā,* 862.
[336] The months which Al-Ḥusayn stayed in Makkah are, the month of Rajab, Sha'bān, Ramadhan and Dhul Ḥajjah
[337] People of Kūfah.
[338] Al-Ṭawūs Al-'Alawī Al-Ḥasanī , *Lohūf,* 4.
[339] He was the Governor of Baṣrah who Yazid assigned as a governor of Kufah as well. (Ṭabarī, *Tarikh Al-Ṭabari,* Vol. 6, 166; Vol. 7, 18,144; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar alam Al-Nubala,* Vol. 4, 191).

When Al-Ḥusayn came to know about this evil decision, he changed his intention of Ḥajju Tamattu' to 'Umrah[340] one day before the beginning of Ḥajj, in order to shorten his performance. He left Makkah towards Kūfah because of "his concern about potential violation of the sanctity of Ka'abah."[341] Simultaneously, at Yazīd's command, 'Ubaidullah had arrested, tortured and killed Musilm Ibni 'Aqīl. Therefore, Al-Ḥusayn's departure from Makkah on 8th of *Dhul Ḥajjah* at 60 A.H. is close to Muslim's date of *Shahādah*.[342] Fifty men, including his family, accompanied Al-Ḥusayn on his journey towards Kūfah. Al-Ḥusayn's journey[343] lasted between twenty-three and twenty-four days before he arrived at the land of Karbalā where he "traveled up to two stations from Kūfah."[344] There Al-Ḥusayn came to know that Kūfian's had changed their allegiance from Al-Ḥusayn to Yazīd. Al-Ḥusayn decided to return to Medina but was prevented from leaving and was forced to camp down by the military commander Hurr Ibn Yazīd. 'Ubaidullah's representative and his army followed him and blocked his way. On the second of Muḥarram, the caravan arrived at Karbalā, which Al-Ḥusayn claimed as his final destination. It is reported that he said this was "a land for flowing our blood and the land for our shrines. By Allah, this is the place where our womenfolk will be taken captives, and my grandfather has given this news to me."[345] At this point the caravan began to realize its destiny.

---

[340] The second type of Ḥajj is performed with fewer steps.
[341] Ṭabarī, *Tarikh Al-Ṭabari,* Vol. 6, 177.
[342] *Ibid.* Vol. 6. 56.
[343] Al-Ḥusayn 's caravan went through these villages and cities within their journey from Makkah towards Kūfah. The map of this route is available at page 108. Names are also listed below al-Tanim, al-Sifah, Thar 'Irq, al-Hajir, al-Khuzaymiyya, Zarud, al-Tha'labiyya, al-Shuquq, Zubala, al-Aqaba, Sharaf, al-Baydha, al-Ruhayma, al-Qadisiyya, al-Utahyb, Qasr Bani Muqatil, The Taff Villages. ('Abdul Al-Razzāq Al-Muqarram, Sayed Muḥammad Al-Ḥusayn . Maqtal Al-Al-Ḥusayn : Martydom Epic of Imām Al-Al-Ḥusayn)
[344] *Ibid.* Vol. 6, 68.
[345] *Ibid.* Vol. 6, 72.

Muḥammad, ‘Alī and Fāṭimah had all informed Zaynab; she already knew what awaited them. She witnessed her brother sharpening his sword while despairing of the world, referring to it as “the time for moving towards Allah’s paradise.”[346] Upon hearing her brother’s claim of certain death, she cried out saying, “O God! Al-Ḥusayn gave me news of his own death.”[347] It is reported that at hearing Zaynab’s words, the women burst into tears while calling upon Allah and the prophet. Al-Ḥusayn reminded them about the mortality of humans along with all creatures, while encouraging them to practice patience. He requested the women of the caravan, especially his own household, not to “rend their cloths; nor scratch their faces, and neither to utter unjust words after his Shahādah.”[348] He said so even though he was aware of the hardships his family would undergo after his Shahādah, thus emphasizing the importance of modesty in their behavior as role models for their society. His approach towards the entire situation is notable. He was not worried about his death; rather, his concern was the example that would be set after his death by the practice of his family. His concern for the future was dictated in terms of leaving patterns of behaviour for posterity.

Al-Ḥusayn’s world view was different from his enemies. He left Makkah with a few clear intentions, as he wrote in his will to his friend and brother Muḥammad Ibn Al-Ḥanafiyyah:

> “Al-Ḥusayn testifies that there is no god except Allah, the One and Only God, Who has no partner, and that Muhammad (S) is His servant and Messenger who brought the truth from Him, that Paradise is right, and that hell is right, that the Hour is approaching; there is no doubt about it, and that Allah will resurrect those in the graves.I did not march out exultingly, nor recklessly, nor seeking to make corruption in the land, nor to oppress anyone. Rather, I marched out seeking to reform my grandfather's nation. I desire to enjoin what is right and to

[346] *Ibid.*
[347] *Ibid.*
[348] *Ibid.*

> forbid what is wrong and to follow the Sunnah of my grandfather and of my father ‘Ali Ibn Abu Talib. So, whoever accepts me an acceptance of righteousness, Allah is the Master of what is right, and whoever refuses, I shall persevere till Allah judges between me and the people; surely He is the best of judges. This is my will to you, brother, and my success comes only from Allah; upon Him do I rely, and to Him is my return.”[349]

Al-Ḥusayn’s intentions are transparent, and he stated them several times on different ocasions to his enemies. He delivered several speeches to introduce himself as the grandson of Muḥammad and the son of ‘Alī and Fāṭimah. He reminded them of his grandmother Khadījah and his uncle Ja’far. In each of his sermons, he points out the sacredness of the family in which he grew and was raised. He reminds the army of the qualities that Muḥammad named for Al-Ḥusayn and his honored family. With the army of ‘Ubaidullah listening, Imām Al-Ḥusayn left them with a question. He asked them how they could block the way of their Imām and kill him. The enemosity of their response demonstrated the extened in which they were won over by the caliph promises[350], “Surely, we know you and we know all about you yet we will not leave you until you taste death!”[351] It is reported that hearing her brother’s innocent testimonies and statements, Zaynab’s heart ached. She pitied the group who could listen to the voice of the beloved grandson of Muḥammad yet not hear it, as if their hearts were locked and enlightenment would never pass the boundaries of their irrationality. Hearing her cry, the women burst into tears within their tents; their loud cries and their lamentations broke the

---

[349] ‘Abdullah Nuru Allah Al-Bahrānī Iṣfahanī, *Maqtal al-’Awalīm*, (Qum: Madrasatu Al-Imāam Mahdī, 1983), 54; Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad Ibni Mūsā Al-Khawrazmī, *Al-Maqtal* (Qum: Muassasah Anwār Al-Hudā, 2002), Vol. 1, chapter 9, 188.
[350] Yazīd promised them with fame, wealth and land if they kill Al-Ḥusayn.
[351] *Ibid* Vol. 6, 80.

silence of the desert. Al-Ḥusayn asked his brother "Abbās to calm them down, and wondered how much wailing they would have in future!"[352]

Yazīd wrote to Ibni Ziad to attack Al-Ḥusayn immediately. 'Umar Ibni Sa'd and Shimr Ibni Zil Juwshan, rushed towards Al-Ḥusayn's tents. Al-Ḥusayn, who was aware of his destiny, requested a day off from 'Ubaidullah's army and his wish was granted. This request would give him time to inform his companions of his intentions to fight the army, and would allow them the freedom to choose whether to accompany him or to leave him. As the night approached, Al-Ḥusayn turned off the lantern to provide his companions solitude to make their decisions. Most of his companions left, except 72 men and their families. As the next morning arrived, Karbalā witnessed the battle of 25,000 soldiers of Ibni Ziād against 72 men with Al-Ḥusayn. Among these 72 were children of 'Alī, Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn, and relatives of Al-Ḥusayn.

It is reported Imām Al-Ḥusayn's participation in the war was not the regular way of men against men on a battlefield. As the enemy blocked their way, his family were forced to witness every second of this battle. Women and children were witness to a war where they could hear all the conversations between the enemy and their leader Al-Ḥusayn. Their suffering increased throughout the day as they were exposed to the sound and sights of the battlefield. They could hear their enemies brag about the slaughter of each member of Al-Ḥusayn's army. The fear of losing their beloved husbands or sons on one hand, coupled with the fear of losing their own lives and the lives of their children from thirst and hunger on the other, oppressed them emotionally and physically. Among the women, Zaynab's fears were the greatest, as she already knew every single event

[352] *Ibid.*

which was about to take place. She grew up witnessing the tears of Muḥammad. When she was three, he had told her about the events of Karbalā. Her mother Fāṭimah and her father ‘Alī also prepared her by reminding her about these events and the tragedies that would occur. Zaynab grew up as one who could not bear losing sight of Al-Ḥusayn, and now destiny was taking him away from her. It is reported that knowing that she was going to lose Al-Ḥusayn, she requested they build her a ‘*ṭall*.’[353] She, thus, stood high and witnessed every move of Al-Ḥusayn’s army and the enemy throughout the entire event.

Al-Ḥusayn and his companions were securing down the tents and preparing a semi-comfortable place for their families. Al-Ḥusayn’s caravan was surrounded by the enemy, who blocked them from the water supply for three days until Al-Ḥusayn was killed on the 10th of Muḥarram. In order to understand the value of water in Karbalā, one needs to know the exact location and the climate of this land. Karbalā[354] is located about 100 Km southwest of Baghdād and the west bank of Euphrates. This land is located next to the plain and in the middle of the sedimentary land of Sawad. Toward the northwest is the city of Anbar, and it neighbors the old city of Babylon to the east. To the west of Karbalā is the desert, and to the southwest, the rich city of Hirah. During the time of the

[353] Is a handmade platform out of natural elements, which in Karabalā was sand and Camel’s saddles. Zaynab would stand on it and had a clear view of the battlefield.

[354] Etymological study of this word shows that scholars consider both Arabic and non-Arabic roots for Karbalā. One scholar, Yāqūt Hamawī, believes that this word has Arabic roots. Therefore, it means laxity in steps. As the land, soil has soft qualities thus walking over the sands cause shallowness and laxity is steps. In contrast, other scholars such as Hebatullah Shahristānī in the book of *Nuḥḍatu Al-Al-Ḥusayn* states that the word was originaly ‘Koor Baal’ meaning the collection of villages of Babul as this place is very close to the city of Baul. Muḥammad Bāqīr Mudarres in his book of Mashhadu Al-Al-Ḥusayn states that ‘*Karb*’ stands for sanctuary and temple and ‘ila’ means gods. Therefore, Karbalā means the temple of gods. Similar to his word, Masinion the French orientalist, also believes that Karabala was the temple for ancient time Niynawā and Babul. (Yāqūt Hamāwīi, *Mu’jam Al-Buldān*. (Lāhūr: Jāmi’ah Ummu Al-Qurā, 1997), Vol. 4, 445; Muḥammad Ibni Ḥusayn Ibni Muḥsin Ibni Murtḍā Al-Ḥusaynī Hibatu Al-Dīn Shahristānī, *Nuḥḍatu Al-Al-Ḥusayn* (Beirut: Muassasah Al-Balāgh, 2003), 89; Muḥammad Bāqir Modarres Bustān Ābādī, *Shahr Ḥusayn* (Qum: Dar Al-‘Ilm, 2001), 10). Gabril narrated the true meaning of the name Karbalā to Muhammad: the land which will cause many agonies ‘karb’ and afflictions ‘balā’. (Ja’far Ibni Qulawayh Al-Qumī. *Kāmil Al-Ziarat* (Qum:Nashr Faqāhah, 1981), 545).

events that took place at Karbalā, the people of Damascus and Hijāz would gather and store their harvest from this land. The household of Muḥammad arrived at Karbalā around the month of October, when the temperature would be between 84.2 F and 95 F. Zaynab and the other women who were covered in long garments entered the tents to avoid the direct sun. Infants and children were thirsty. Wives and mothers were ashamed to ask for water, for fear of their men setting off to fight for it. So it is reported that they bore their thirst to save their men from slaughter.

Zaynab is considered the leader of these women; they look up to her. There are anecdotal stories about her running between the tents and encouraging the women to remain patient as the battle is about to begin. When the sun rose on the 9th of Muḥarram, Al-Ḥusayn's men bravely fought against 'Ubaidulla's army and became *Shahīd*. It is said this was the day that Zaynab became a different person. Zaynab, above the *ṭall*, witnesses the thirsty warriors being killed. While standing at the *ṭall*, she witnessed Al-Ḥusayn's men going, one by one, to the battlefield, and when they were about to die she would call Al-Ḥusayn. She would see Al-Ḥusayn, listen to their last words, ask Allah for their forgiveness and attend to their bodies. Since he was surrounded by the enemy, he would have no choice but to leave the bodies and come back to the tents. Then Zaynab would run along with Al-Ḥusayn towards the tent of the family who lost their husband, brother or son and would convey the news of their *Shahādah*. Along with condolences, she would calm their remaining family members. The only time that Zaynab did not watch the battlefield but remained in her tent was when her two sons were on the battlefield. After she heard the voice of her brother bringing their bodies towards the tents "she

remained in her tent."[355] She did not want her brother to see her tears and affliction. She cared so much about Al-Ḥusayn that she did not want "her brother to feel uncomfortable"[356] Also, she did not want to lose the "precious reward of their *Shahādah*"[357] by losing patience. Zaynab witnessed the massacre of nephews, two sons, and two brothers.

Imām Al-Ḥusayn's partisans were all killed by the enemy, and he was the last man of the army who was expected to go to the battlefield. There are detailed account of the evnets that are followed. Al-Ḥusayn came towards the tents to say farewell to his beloved ones for the last time. Among all the ladies left behind, his wife Rabāb, his daughter Sakīneh and his sister Zaynab were the ones, who got to say goodbye as the last group. Imām Al-Ḥusayn recited his will for them as follows:

> "Prepare yourself for harsh events and know that God is the protector and supporter. He will save you from the burden caused by enemies in the near future. Your offshoot will be towards good and your enemies will end up in misery and they will be punished with different disasters. Your reward in return will be His munificence and mercies. Therefore, do not gripe and do not mention the miseries and hardship you go through so that you remain as high in altitude as you are."[358]

Zaynab wondered about the reason behind her brother's last will, and Al-Ḥusayn shared with her about the future which awaited them and how they would travel city to city and palace to palace as hostages. He told her how harshly they would be treated after his martyrdom, and that she would need to practice patience throughout this journey. Here, Zaynab broke down. Her eyes brimmed with tears and she asked her brother to leave the tent slowly so she could get a chance to look at him for the last time. Al-Ḥusayn

---

[355] Ḥabību Allah SharīKāsdānī, *Tadhkiratu Al-Shuhadā*, 156-157.
[356] *Ibid.*
[357] *Ibid.*
[358] *Jalalu Al-'Uyūn*, 576.

requested that she calm down and asked for a simple shirt that he could wear beneath his armor. He wanted to avoid "nakedness after his death,"[359] as the enemy would steal everything. Then Al-Ḥusayn asked for his horse and headed towards the battlefield. Zaynab ran towards Al-Ḥusayn's horse and brought it for him with tears, saying, "O dear brother, there is no other man left behind. I will bring your horse for you." It's mentioned by Naqdī that Al-Ḥusayn asked his sister "to pray for him during her night prayers Tahajjūd."[360] This is how Zaynab and her brother parted from one another.

She went back into the tent to perform her duties. Calming the remaining families, was not Zaynab's only duty, she was also in charge of Zain Al-'Ābedīn as well. He was the precious oldest son of Al-Ḥusayn who was extremely sick and couldn't go to the battlefield. His secret remained with Zaynab as Al-Ḥusayn had appointed him as the next Imām. Because he was sick that he could not sit up with Zaynab supporting him. Al-Ḥusayn returned from the battlefield, entered the tent, and shared his will with Zain Al-'Ābedīn and Zaynab. The fourth Imām asked about his uncle 'Abbās, whom he knew as the bravest man of *Banī Hāshim*, after his father. Zaynab burst into tears. Al-Ḥusayn responded that 'Abbās was "beheaded while both his hands were cut off."[361] Hearing this message, Zain Al-'Ābedīn realized that Al-Ḥusayn was the only man who remained, and fainted. Zaynab knew that Al-Ḥusayn was heading toward the battlefield to become *Shahīd*. She was crying trying to take care of Zain Al-'Ābedīn as well. Al-Ḥusayn calmed her down and requested her to stop crying — as there would be enough time for mourning in the future — and reminded her of her important role after his death. When

[359] The enemy after victory took out all the armors from martyr's bodies and left them without cloths and ran over their bodies with the horses. Muḥammad Mahdī Ḥāirī Mazandaranī, *Mā'lī Al-Sebṭayn*, (Beirut: Muassasah Al-Balāgh, 2011), V. 2, 14.
[360] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā*, 58.
[361] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā*, .222-223.

Al-Ḥusayn was about to leave the tent, Zain Al-'Ābedīn gained his consciousness and asked for a sword to accompany his father, but Zaynab stopped him because he was very sick. Yet, Zaynab ran after her brother and called upon him. She cried out "O Al-Ḥusayn! Slow down and allow me to look at you for one last time."[362] She knew that this farewell was the last one, and she would never have another chance to hug her brother or smell him again. As Al-Ḥusayn ran towards the battlefield, Zaynab ran towards the *ṭall* so she could have a better view. She heard the voice of Al-Ḥusayn asking, "Is there anyone to assist me?"[363]She too wanted to run towards the battlefield, but she restrained herself. At this point, a huge transformation took place within Zaynab. As the only one who witnessed every moment of Karbalā, her response to her brother's calls became a transformation of emotion into words which caused an emotional revolution in her later journey.

Al-Ḥusayn killed many members of the army, but he was shot with arrows and finally fell down from '*Zul Janān*.'[364] The discribtion of the aftermat of Al-Ḥusayn's death it is said that Zaynab's heart nearly exploded when she saw Shimr going towards her brother's body. She could see Shimr running towards *Maqtal*[365] while she ran towards her *Mawlā* Al-Ḥusayn. Shimr was sitting on Al-Ḥusayn's chest as Zaynab approached *Maqtal*. As Shimr sat on Al-Ḥusayn's chest Zaynab could not take another step and fell to her knees. She saw Shimr take out his sword to cut off Al-Ḥusayn's head, and Zaynab's heart felt like it was being cut out of her chest. The sword did not work, so Shimr asked for an alternative. Zaynab shouted at him, "How dare you want to cut the

[362] Mazandaranī, *Mā'lī Al-Sebṭayn*, Vol. 2, 26.
[363] Ibni Ṭawūs, *Luhūf,* 50; Muḥsin Amīn, *A'yān Al-Shī'ah* (Beirut: Dār Al-Tā'ruf li Al-Maṭbū'āt, 1986), Vol. 1, 609; Al-Arbali, *Kashf Al-Ghamah fi Ma'rafah Al-Aimmah* Vol. 2, 262.
[364] Al-Ḥusayn's horse.
[365] The place where Al-Ḥusayn was killed.

throat where Muḥammad kissed?! How dare you want to cut the head where Fāṭimah and ‘Ali beheld!” Crying, she sought help from other men including ‘Umar Ibni Sa’ad. As “he was turning his back to Zaynab he was in tears,”[366] yet he ignored her.

Zaynab in *Maqtal*[367]

As she ran towards the *Maqtal,* she fell on her face several times before finally reaching her brother, covered in wounds and blood. She hugged him and cried out loud. Her tears were so compelling that “all men around him from the army of enemy burst in tears.”[368]

> “Are you my dear Al-Ḥusayn ?
> Are you my dearest brother?
> Are you the son of my mother?
> Are you the apple of my eyes?
> Are you the reason for my heart beat?
> Are you the supporter of the family of Muḥammad?
> Are you the only man left from the family of Muḥammad in this battle field?
> Are you the decedant of Muḥammad?
> Are you the son of ‘Ali?
> Are you the child of Fāṭimah?”[369]

There is an embedded wisdom in these questions. The first was to motivate the heart of Al-Ḥusayn to respond to her even though there was no strength left in his body. The second was to remind those enemies that the man they are about to murder was a descendant of Muḥammad, their own prophet. At this point, Zaynab’s words were not only sharp and deep, they awoke the emotions within the hearts of her audience, including humans and the unseen creatures. She cried so much and begged Al-Ḥusayn for

[366] Naqdi, *Zaynab Al-Kubrā,* 220.
[367] Place where the execution take place.
[368] Dam’ato Sabekat; *Zaynab Al-Kubr*ā, 231.
[369] Mazandaranī, *Mā’lī Al-Sebṭayn*, Vol. 2, Chapter 10, Majlis. 14.

a word or a sign, and Al-Ḥusayn responded to her. He told his dear sister to be patient and tried to calm her down while lying in the *Maqtal*. Al-Ḥusayn commanded his sister to go back to the tents. Obeying his command, Zaynab walked backward; she did not take her sight off the *Maqtal*. Meanwhile, Shimr did not delay, using another sword, he beheaded Al-Ḥusayn. She was back in the tent at her brother's request and is said not to have witnessed Al-Ḥusayn's martyrdom. Al-Ḥusayn's head was put on a spear and held in front of the tents to announce to his household that he was killed. Zaynab recalled her brother's will, tried to compose herself and gathered the girls and women. Everyone was crying. At this moment, the enemy set their tents on fire and took off their scarves. Seven children were killed when the soldiors stampeded over them to death.[370] It was Zaynab's to prevent them from getting killed while the enemy was trying to steal the little property they had.

On the 10th of Muḥarram, the last part of Zaynab's dream was fulfilled. She lost her beloved brother Al-Ḥusayn, the 5th member of her family. It was yet another heart wrenching tragedy. It was after noon when the cruel men of the enemy rode towards the tents to burn out "the wives and children and steal their property" as 'Umar Ibni S'ad[371] had commanded them. As she had no chance to say goodbye to her brother's body, she ran towards the tents. She tried to gather the children and other women, but they were running towards the desert. She then ran towards her nephew Zain Al-'Ābedīn, whose tent was burning down. He was so sick that he was unable to move, and was surrounded by the burning flames. Zaynab ran frantically to find away to save him. "Ultimately, she

[370] Sa'd 'Aqīl the sons of 'Abdulraḥmān Ibni 'Aqīl, 'Atikih, the daughter of Muslim, Muḥammad. The son of Sa'īd Ibni 'Aqīl. Mazandaranī, *Mā'lī Al-Sebṭayn*, Vol. 2, 135,140.
[371] Ismā'il Ḥusaynī Lailābī, *Ghamnameye Āli Muḥammad* (Qum: Nasīm Kawthar, 2005), 379.

jumped into the burning flames to rescue her nephew."[372] Shortly after, 'Umar Ibni S'ad who witnessed her brave act, rushed towards Zain Al-'Ābedīn to kill him because he was the only man left of Al-Ḥusayn's family. Zaynab hugged her nephew tight and told 'Umar to back off. She bravely stated, "if you want to kill him you have to kill me first."[373]Thus, Zaynab saved the life of her next Imām.

After three days of fear, thirst and hunger, after losing both her sons and both her brothers, Zaynab remained inside the burnt tent with, a sick nephew, women and children. She sent two of the children to 'Umar Ibni S'ad to ask for another tent as shelter for the members of the caravan. He ordered his soldiers to set up a tent for them. Zaynab ran all over the desert trying to find missing women and children. All this while, it is reported the enemy they are celebrating their victory with the feast. It is also reported that they placed the heads of the 72 martyrs on spears and talked about the reward they would received from their Khalīfah. Night was approaching, yet Zaynab was still searching for the missing. She spent the whole night trying to gather everyone, trying to calm them, helping them to heal. Some of them didn't have proper *ḥijāb*[374] to cover themselves as they were chased out of their tents. Everyone, including Zaynab, was heartbroken and tired. This night was later called Shām-e-Gharībān,[375] the first night the hostages had no support or shelter. The children who ran off in the desert, barefoot on the hot sand, shared their hardship with Zaynab. Those who lost their fathers would seek hugs and attention from Zaynab. The youngest ones, who couldn't understand the death of their beloved

---

[372]Muḥammad Ibni Yūsuf Al-Nahālī Al-Ḥalabī, *Ṭarāzu Al-Madhhab fi Dakhīl wa Al-M'arab* (1885), Vol. 1, 253.
[373] Mazandaranī, *Mā'lī Al-Sebṭayn*, Vol. 2. Ch.12. Majlis. 2.
[374] Fabrics to cover the parts of body as recommended in Islam. Their Hejab was taken off their body as the enemy was chasing them. Bāqir Sharīf Qurashī, *Ḥayātu Al-Imām Al-Ḥusayn* (Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islamyyah, 1988) Vol. 3. p.300.
[375] Night of strangers who have no supporters nor any shelter.

ones, would cry and ask for them. After Zaynab restlessly attended to everyone, she sat down beneath one of the burnt tents and fell asleep. In a dream she saw her mother and cried to her. Fāṭimah told her, "My dearest daughter I was at *Maqtal* when they wanted to behead my son. Wake up and find Ruqayyah!"[376] Zaynab woke up in tears and fearfully, asked for Ruqayyah. She was missing. Zaynab ran everywhere looking for her, finally going towards Al-Ḥusayn's remains, where she found Al-Ḥusayn 's daughter hugging the headless body of her father. She hugged her and brought her back to the tents.

The above mentioned events were reported throughout the history of Karbalā. This chapter was saved through Zaynab's narration after the events of Karbalā. Therefore, most of the news and reports focus on the pain and miseries others members of the Caravan went through while Zaynab never complained about her own agonies. She remained silent regarding her own pains and never shared them. Once the question was raised to Imām Mahdī, the twelfth Imām; Which event of Karbalā is the most tragic, the martyrdom of 'Abbās?, Al-Ḥusayn? and so on. Yet, with each name, Imām Mahdī's response was, No! The Imām answered that the most tragic moment of Karbalā was when Zaynab became a "hostage and was dealt with as a hostage during the night of Shām-e-Gharībān. He pointed out that "if any of the male members of Al-Ḥusayn's army, including himself was alive they would cry blood and would not be able to handle the pain."[377] Since Zaynab was always protected like a precious jewel by her men, this was the first time that she was alone and in charge of others.

It is reported that as a sister and mother of *Shahīd*, Zaynab remained the only woman in that desert who could not act as a woman in mourning. Instead of crying next

[376]Muḥammad Muḥammadī Ishtihardī, *Sargozaht Jānsooz Ruqayyih* (Qum: Nashr Muṭahhar, 1997), 27.
[377] Qāḍī Zāhidī Qulpāiganī, *Shiftegan Haḍrat Mahdi* (Qum: Nashr Ḥādhiq, 2004), Vol.1, 145.

to her son's body, she remained in the tent and averted her face. Despite her need to mourn near Al-Ḥusayn's body and bid farewell to him, she ran towards the tents to save Zain Al-'Ābedīn and others. Thirsty and hungry and in extreme physical pain, she had to search for the children and other women. Although heart broken and grief-stricken she, she patiently listened to others. She took care of her sick nephew who was under tremendous pressure as the only man who remained alive and was not being able to do anything for his father. The series of suffering was a turning point in Zaynab's transformation. She was a treasury of all the attributes that are revered in women and yet she manifested a strength that transcended humans. Zaynab became the pillar of this tragic group. Her strength and faith became the strenght of the caravan. Her confidence and soothing words sustaind the group. At this point, she acts as Baṭlatu Al-Karbalā.[378] It is said that no one was equal to her in braveness of heart and action.

Their day began, as morning approached, the soldiers picked up the heads and carried them before the eyes of the wives and children of the Shuhadā. Zaynab helped everyone to mount the camels and yet no one remained to help her out. She remembered her father 'Alī and her brother Al-Ḥusayn who used to respect her and help her throughout her trips, and she looked at *Maqtal*. She called upon Al-Ḥusayn: "O dearest brother rise and see how I am being dealt with as a hostage! Rise."[379] Forced to ride on the saddle-less camels, Zaynab requested 'Umar Ibni S'ad to take them to the *Maqtal* so they could visit the bodies for the last time, especially Al-Ḥusayn's. All the women gathered around Al-Ḥusayn's body and Zaynab recited "her first recitation of *Maqtal*."[380]

---

[378] Lion, hero of Karbalā.
[379] 'Ai Ibni Ḥusayn Hashimī, *'Aqīlatu Banī Hāshim*, 38-39.
[380] Muḥsin Amīn Al-'Āmilī, *Lawa'iju Al-Ashjān*, (Egypt: Maktaba Al-Iskandaryah), 198.

She started by calling upon her brother with great honor and referring to him as a descendant of the respected prophet. Then she described how he faught alone against thousands of soldiors to his death. She drew their attention towards his thirst while saying his *Shahādah*.[381] Emphasizing that his death was an honored one, she then pointed to Al-Ḥusayn beheaded body and his head stuck on a spear. Her words were heart rending, and "soldiers burst into tears and, its written in the history that their horses cried as well."[382] As Ibni Ziād witnessed the situation he worried about his soldiers and their rebellion against him. Therefore, he ordered them to move as quickly as possible towards Kūfah.

From this point the significance of Zaynab becomes paramount. She is the only figure that is standing who becomes the envoy to speak of the events of Karbalā on behalf of the dead. She was the only eyewitness to her brother's call for assistance. Thus, she was the witness of the life and death of great role models and how their deaths immortalize their message and memories. Every "revolution has two aspects: the first is the blood and the second is the message."[383] Thus, Zaynab remained the only messenger of Karbalā who realized that the survival of Al-Ḥusayn's message did not only require blood, but also needed to be spread throughout the world and history. Zaynab had to reveal the truth of Al-Ḥusayn's revolution and why he became *Shahīd*. Zaynab embraced her role as messenger and inheritor of *Shahīd* in order to set an example for future generations.'[384] Her *laṭmiāt*[385] was so strong that 'Umar Ibni S'ad commanded his army to move because he feared their possible change of heart. The caravan left Karbalā

---

[381] Al-Ḥusayn last words was that there is no God but Allah and Muḥammad is the last messenger.
[382] Al-Khawrazmī, *Al-Maqtal*, Vol. 2, 39; Ibrāhīm Al-Mianji, *'Ayūn Al-'Abarī* (Qum: Dar Al-Ḥadīth, 2002), 198; *Al-faje'ato Al-'Uzma*, 187.
[383] 'Ali Shari'atī, *Faṭimah is Faṭimah* (Tehran: The Shari'atī Foundation, 1971).
[384] *Ibid.*
[385] Scratching faces while crying.

towards Kūfah. Zaynab's back was towards Al-Ḥusayn's body, but her face was looking at his head stuck on a spear before her.

The hostages left Karbalā on the 11th of Muḥarram and arrived at Kūfah on the afternoon of the 12th of Muḥarram after traveling for about 72-80 Km. While the army and hostages remained outside the city, they set up tents to rest.[386] In the morning, the army announced its entrance to the city. Zaynab asked 'Umar Ibni S'ad that they be taken through the streets that were less crowded since the women were not properly covered. They found the stores and bazaars closed as if people were ready for a celebration. One of the soldiers asked the reason. A citizen responded that they had heard about the victory of truth against falsehood and were there to celebrate the entrance of their heroes. Then the citizen asked about the leaders of the army. The soldier 'responded, "Umar Ibni Sa'd who was appointed by Khalīfah Yazīd and Al-Ḥusayn Ibni'Ali. The Kufī man screamed and started to cry."[387] The Caravan of Al-Ḥusayn would pass by people who were gathered to see the hostages and disgrace them. Yet, the shocking news regarding the identity of the hostages was spread, and soon the Kūfians' happiness changed to sorrow. Because Kūfians were the reason for Al-Ḥusayn's family's suffering, they were in shock. Women rushed to the roof tops and brought "covers and *ḥijab's* for the hostages."[388] At this point Zaynab, while sitting on the camel, manifested her perfection in patience as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* when she delivered her first speech.

---

[386] Faḍil Darbandī, *Kathīr Al-'Ibādāt fi Asrar Al-Shahādat*; Zanjani, *Wasilat-o-Al-Darian Fi Ansar Al-Al-Ḥusayn*, (Mashhad: Sazman Kitab Khaneha Muzeha wa asnad Astan Quds Raḍawi, 2010), 354.
[387] Hashim Baḥranī, *Madina Al-Mu'ajez*, 271.
[388] Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār*, Vol. 45.

Zaynab's speech in Kūfah

It was in Kūfah where Zaynab delivered a powerful speech that is one of the remarkable evidences of her tenacious character. This speech helps us to realize the personality traits which makes her a candidate as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. At the huge noisy gathering of people and animals in Kūfah Zaynab simply raised "One finger and there was silence."[389] This powerful gesture manifested her spiritual power as *taṣarruf*[390] in the universe. This act, which is only one of the attributes of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*, is mentioned by Ibni 'Arabī as a sign of "*Khalīfatu Allah*, who is not connected to the source of revelation."[391]

الحَمدُلله، والصّلاة على أبي محمّد(رسول الله) و آله الطيّبين الأخيار (آل الله).

"My praise and Thanks to Allah and my sincere salutation and Peace be Upon my father Muḥammad and His chosen pure family."

Zaynab is known as Walīatu Allah[392] begins with the Salawāt.[393] Ibnī Ziād[394] and his army pretended that Zaynab and the other women hostages are the wives of non-believers who rebelled against the Khalīfah. Zaynab is aware of this shrewd plot against her family and she always starts her speeches with the name of God and the name of the prophet. Along with the praising of God and his messenger she is announcing that she is

[389] Al-Majlesī, *Al-Bihār*, Vol. 45. P.108. Ibni Ṭāwūs, *Al-Luhūf.*
[390] Sovereignty.
[391] Ibni 'Arabi *Al-Futūḥāt Al-Makkyyah* P.407; Fusus Al-Hekam. P.16.
[392] Deputy of Allah.
[393] Salawāt is asking God to Salute Muḥammad and his progeny.
[394] Upon Banī Umayyad's shrewd decision they appointed Yazid as Khalīfeh and legitimized him through spreding message on his valid right to be the Khalīfah. While Al-Ḥusayn 's opposition against Yazīd's legitimacy was hidden from public, Yazīds army were sent to war against Al-Ḥusayn without knowing who Al-Ḥusayn was actually. Within the battle field Al-Ḥusayn contantly introduced himself as the grandchild of Muḥammad and yet the army of Yazīd would not believe him. Those who got to testify the honesty of his words truned their back to the army of Yazīd and joined Al-Ḥusayn . Also after Zaynab and other ladies were taken as hostages Ibni Ziad spread the false message about these noble ladies in every stops between Karbalā and Shām. Therefore, people who had no clue would curse these ladies or would throw woods or stones upon their heads.

a Muslim[395] and a follower of Muḥammad, removing the doubt of the people of Kūfah about her righteous identity. She continued by referring to Muḥammad as her father.[396] Zaynab showed her familial ties to Muḥammad and how close she was to him. Not only was he the role model who had taught her the ṣalawāt, but her spiritual father as well.

أمّا بَعد يا أهل الكوفة، يا أهل الخَتْل و الغَدر، أتبكون فلا رقأتِ الدمعة، ولا هدأت الرنّه.

"O People of Kūfah! O Deceitful people for whom treachery is your outstanding habits, are you in tears due to what we have been through? May your tears never stop!"

After her short yet strong introduction, the people of Kūfah were already in tears. Tears were streaming for some and while others were biting their hands in remorse. It was then that she addressed them by their true characteristics and pierced their hearts. She had supreme control over her emotions despite having lost her beloved kith and kin and having been taken hostage all on the same day, she still kept composure. Instead of cursing the people of Kūfah who broke their promise, she made *duā*[397] for them. With incredible control Zaynab thought of the best solution for the people of Kūfah, who were feeling extremely guilty, and prescribed cathartic remedy for them. Her prescribing "tears" was the cathartic solution for them. This prescription for the treacherous group of people demonstrates her compassion which is attributive of her being an *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*.

Zaynab's approach was a blend of logic and emotion. In one hand she was informing the people of the actual events of Karbalaā at the same time she was ensuring that it should have an emotional impact on them. Thus, was Zaynab gradually turning

[395] The salutation of Muḥammad and His family is called as Salawat taught to Muḥammad by God.
[396] She is reflecting of Muḥammad as father of her knowledge who taught her and educate them about Islam and Manners. Also she is showing her ties to Muḥammad to allow the people of Kufah to know that she is among the Ahl al-Bayt of Muḥammad.
[397] Pray.

their hearts around. She was not only planting the principals Al-Ḥusayn practiced in the battle, but she was also triggering deep emotions within the people. This passionate approach made Karbalā immortal, and Zaynab observed the result as the Kūfiāns burst into tears. She continued doing this throughout her journey towards Shām and later on in Medina. She is the first woman who held sessions in which she reviewed the events of Karbalā with the purpose of touching people's hearts.[398]

Zaynab's Dua is significant as it engendered the journey of M'arifah[399] for the people for the growth of their inner self/Bātin. Kūfians' tears appeared based on the M'arifah which Zaynab generated within them. According to Surah Māidah,[400] this M'arifah can be caused by the truth that is revealed. After realizing the truth about their lapse of judgement for having betrayed Al-Ḥusayn, they cried with remorse. As Zaynab continued, she prayed to Allah to bless the people with the ability for cathartic tears tied to the events of Karbalā throughout the ages. This was in order that their remorse witll prevent them from further colossal mistakes of blinding themselves to the truth and so keep them humble and compassionate. In the Quran, tears and crying are done with "Allah's permission."[401] Therefore, when Zaynab was giving her heart-rending speech the tears that were shed are said to be with "Allah's permission." Zaynab's Karāmah is proved through this part of her speech, as she gives the Kūfians the gift of tears, a precious gift "given to all prophets."[402] Therefore, not only does she provide the

---

[398] Subsiquently such sessions have become ritual gatherings in the Shi'a's sects.
[399] Knowledge or enlightenment towards a matter.
[400] And when they hear what has been revealed to the Messenger, you see their eyes overflowing with tears because of what they have recognized for the truth. They say, "Our Lord, we have believed, so register us among the witnesses." (Quran 5:83).
[401] Quran 53:43.
[402] Quran 19:58. All chosen people of God, prophets and *Walīat-u-Allah,* were given the blessings and bounty of tears/act of crying. Therefore, crying is an undeniable part of their God conscious characteristics.

requirement for them to be forgiven, she wants their character to grow and thus was guiding them towards inner perfection.

Another reason Zaynab asked God to make the Kūfians cry is for them to become humble. As mentioned in the Quran, role models who have "extreme humility within their self. They bow down to God or they cry."[403] Thus, Zaynab asked God to help the Kūfiān become humble. They listened to the rest of Zaynab's speech with great humility.

انّما مثلكم كمثل (كَٱلَّتِى نَقَضَتْ غَزْلَهَا مِن بَعْدِ قُوَّةٍ أَنكَٰثاً تَتَّخِذُونَ أَيْمَٰنَكُمْ دَخَلا بَيْنَكُم ٩٢)

"Your similitude is one who unspins what is already spun out of the desire to violate (a trust)." [404]

At this point, Zaynab recited verse 92 from Surah Nahl to show them how they ruined the ties they had with their Imām. When they turned their backs towards Al-Ḥusayn , they turned their religious accomplishments into waste. Zaynab's wisdom points out an interestimg fault of human beings with respect to God. Humans are often their own source of destruction when they reverse all their accomplishment through injurious decisions and actions.

ألا و هل فيكم إلا الصَّلف و النَّطَف، و العُجب و الكذب و الشَّنَف، و مَلَق الإماء، و غمز الأعداء، أو كمرعى عَلى دِمنة، أو كقصّة عَلى ملحودة. ألا بئس ما قدّمت لكم أنفسكم أن سخط الله عليكم، و في العذاب أنتم خالدون

"Is there any one among you who is free of guilt of using pointless words filled with exaggerations and false claims? Is there anyone among you who does not pollute the hearts of others with poisonous hatred? Is there anyone who has not pandered to the enemy seeking their attention like maids with no skills, who has beautiful face but their inner soul is ugly and dark? Is there any one among you who is like a flower which has blossomed among the garbage? Similar to this is the silver used for a grave's decoration!"

[403] Quran103:108-109.
[404] Explain completely

To understand Zaynab's words it is important to know the socio-historical background of Kūfah, which 'Umar founded as a city in the year 17 A.H. Historical evidences reveal that the people of Kūfah were mostly immigrants, segregated in groups. Kūfians were famous for competing among each other to gain fame and pride for their own tribe. They would compete in various ways in order to gain mastery over their fellow tribes. In order to show off as well as hide their weaknesses, they would present a fake version of themselves. Therefore, they became shrewd hypocrites to which Zaynab was referring to. She reffered to them as *Al-Ṣalaf*, which is something that is beautiful in appearance but has no true essence. Social and political pressures would easily dissuade them. Consequently they turned into hypocrites and each tribe resorted to portray themselves as powerful. Moreover, they never hesitated to lie in order to hide their weaknesses. They were incapable of uniting with each other as that would expose their weaknesses. Thus, it was impossible for the people of Kūfah to unite.

Zaynab knew this flaw of the Kūfiān's as she had lived with them during 'Ali's *Khilāfah* in the year 40 A.H. They did not follow 'Ali's order to defend the city of *Anbār*. Later on, during Al-Ḥasan's time, they fought in the battlefield to support him and then backed off. The same fickleness happened with their letters inviting Al-Ḥusayn and then breaking their oaths. These three events indicate the Kūfians were people who would compete for fame, not for truth. They proved repeatedly their inconsistency and deceptive tendencies. Thus did Zaynab make the people of Kūfah confront the truth about themselves in having followied 'Ubaidu Allah in his deception and beheading of Al-Ḥusayn.

It is important to know the subject of Zaynab's speech. Kūfians consist of three groups. First, are the rulers such as 'Ubaidu Allah and Ibni Ziād who are in the power because the *Khalifah* chose him. The second group are well-known people like the religious scholars, the heads of the tribes or older figures. The third group are the masses of Kūfah. During Zaynab's speech the first and second groups were in the palace plotting for the next steps in the humiliation of the *Ahlul Bayt*. Therefore, Zaynab's speech was initially delivered to serve the common people. It is important to note that although the Kūfiāns claimed to be Muslims, they fit the description of hypocrites as presented in the Quran.[405]

When Zaynab reached this point in her speech people were choking in their intense grief. There are two narrations on this point. One says that "Imām Sajjād stopped her aunt and calmed her down"[406] as the "sky was raining blood.'[407] The other narration states that "Ibni Ziād ordered Al-Ḥusayn's head to be passed in front of Zaynab's view."[408] As Zaynab witnessed this scene she lost her compusore, could no longer continue her speech. Zaynab's sermon not only reflects the level of her eloquence but also reveals her access to the source of knowledge of the Quran and Ḥadīth. It also manifests her wisdom within every phrase, as she prescribed a cure for not only the

---

[405] And of mankind, there are some (hypocrites) who say: "We believe in Allah and the Last Day" while in fact they believe not.They (think to) deceive Allah and those who believe, while they only deceive themselves, and perceive (it) not! In their hearts is a disease (of doubt and hypocrisy) and Allah has increased their disease. A painful torment is theirs because they used to tell lies. And when it is said to them: "Make not mischief on the earth, they say: "We are only peacemakers."Verily! They are the ones who make mischief, but they perceive not. And when it is said to them (hypocrites): "Believe as the people (followers of Muhammad Peace be upon him , *Al-Ansar* and *Al-Muhajirun)* have believed," they say: "Shall we believe as the fools have believed?" Verily, they are the fools, but they know not. And when they meet those who believe, they say: "We believe,"but when they are alone with their *Shayatin* (devils - polytheists, hypocrites, etc.), they say: "Truly, we are with you; verily, we were but mocking."(Quran 2:8-14).

[406] Abī Al-Manṣūr Aḥmad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Abi Ṭālib AL-Ṭabarsī, *Iḥtijāj*, (Najaf: Maṭābi'Al-Nu'mān, 1966), Vol. 2, 305.

[407] In this year (685) in Britain it rained blood and, milk and butter were turned into blood (continued on page 42.) the Angola Saxon Chronicles. The raining of blood from the sky is mentioned by Zaynab during the speech of Kufah. "Would you doubt while after all blood rains from sky." 'Abdul Al-Razzāq Al-Muqarram, Maqtal Al-Ḥusayn (Tehran: Navid Islam, 2006), 407.

[408] *Al-Muntakhab Al-Tawārikh*, (1867), 464; Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār,* Vol. 45, 114).

Kūfiāns but all humanity. Later many ascribed cosmic significance to this moment, due to the reports of the sudden weather-change of the downpour "blood"[409] right after her speech.

After her speech Fatematu Al-Sughrā, daughter of Al-Ḥusayn, and Ummul Kulthūm,[410] daughter of 'Ali and Imām Zain Al-'Ābedīn[411] delivered their speeches. Ibni Ziād came to know about the content of their speech. Furious over Kufiān's rebellion, he took the hostages and chained them in prison. He sent a messenger to Shām to ask for instructions regarding the next step. While the family of Al-Ḥusayn and the *Ṣahābī's* wives were locked up, "the wives of Ṣahābī were taken out of the jail as their relatives came to release them."[412] Al-Ḥusayn's *Ahl al-Bayt* were the only "remaining hostages."[413] They stayed as prisoners "in a chamber next to the great Masjid of Kūfah."[414]During their stay they were taken into 'Ubaidullah Ibni Ziād's palace to be humiliated. Ibni Ziād's mansion was a familiar place for Zaynab; she remembered her father once ruling there. Ibni Ziād recieved the hostages by forcing them to witness the further desecration of Al-Ḥusayn head.[415] She remained patient while being surrounded by her students and other women. Ibni Ziād, out of disrespect, pretended that he did not know Zaynab. Therefore, he asked her name. One of Zaynab's students then responded that she was Zaynab, daughter of Fāṭimah, daughter of Muḥammad.

409

410 *Ibid.*
411 *Ibid.*
412 Ibrāhim Mūsāī Zanjani,*Wasīlatu Dārain fi Anṣār Al-Ḥusayn* (Beirut: Muassesah Al-A'lamyyah li Al-Maṭbū'at, 1900).
413 As mentioned in *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh* the remaining people as hostages were about 37.
414 Labīb Bayḍūn, *Mawkab Al-Abā* (Qum: Sulaimān Zādih, 2004), 45.
415 His head was on a golden tray with Ibni Ziād whipping at the lips.

> "Ibni Ziyād asked her [Zaynab], "How have you seen what Allah has done to your *Ahl Al-Bayt*?" She, peace be upon her, said, "I have seen Him treating them most beautifully. These are people to whom Allah prescribed martyrdom, so they leaped from their beds welcoming it, and Allah shall gather you and them, and you shall be questioned, and your opponents shall charge you; so, you will then find out whose lot shall be the crack of hell, may your mother, O son of Marjāna, lose you. This statement enraged Ibn Ziyād, and her words incinerated him with ire, especially since she said it before such a huge crowd. He, therefore, was about to kill her when 'Amr Ibn Harith said to him, "She is only a woman; can she be held accountable for what she said? She cannot be blamed when she thus prattles. Ibn Ziyād turned to her one more time and said, "Allah has healed my heart by letting me seek revenge against your tyrant and against the rebels and mutineers from among his *Ahl al-Bayt*!" The wise lady calmed herself and said, "By my life! You have killed my middle-aged protector, persecuted my family, cut off my branch and pulled out my roots; so, if all of this heals your heart, then you are indeed healed."[416]

Zaynab knows that no one can take her dignity away or question her integrity because God is at her side. Although Ibni Ziād ignored her and disrespected her she remained calm. She only spoke in defense of her brother's mission. In her speech she referred to her pure ancestors in response to Ibni Ziād's sarcasm, and stated her strong faith in herself as a gift given by God. She knows her ancestory and she believes in preserving her true identity as one purified by God. Therefore, in her response to Ibni

[416] Al-Ṭabari, *Tarikh,* Vol. 6, 262; Ibni Ṭawūs, *Luhūf*, 90; Ibni Athīr, *Al-Kāmil*, Vol. 4, 33.

Ziād's questions about the loss of her brother, she responded by saying that it was a gain as it was manifestation of Allah's attributes. She said Allah had selected her brother as the Prince of Martyrs and as one who attained perfection through *Shahāda*. By reminding the final destination of all humanity she forced, Ibni Ziād to remember his own mortality. She drew a powerful comparison between the destiny of Al-Ḥusayn-i-Shahīd and his murderer in the hereafter. Therefore, she claimed that Karbalā was a manifestation of Allah's beautiful gifts, as God gifted *Shahādah* to Al-Ḥusayn and his companions. Zaynab claimed the loss of 72 men as a gain of beautiful martyrdom as it tied in with Zayanb's worldview in the Ma'arifah path of progression. As described in the Quran, the "*shahīd'*s never die."[417] Zaynab defined her brother's death as an immortalizing process for his name and his message.

The assembly began with Zaynab's humiliation, when Ibni Ziād pretended not to know her, yet it ended with Ibni Ziād's humiliation when he was confronted with projection of his future by Zaynab. Thus did Zaynab stature become elevated in the eyes of the assembled people. She demonstrated the qualities to the people that later defined her as *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*.

This significant moment prefigured the climactic confrontation Zaynab had with the usurper Yazīd later. It was the latter confrontation that is viewed as having perfected Zaynab in her journey towards Kamāl. Ibni ziād actions were intended to harrass and humiliate Zaynab publicly in front of the assembled dignitaries. Zaynab with her majestic demeanor as the voice of truth turned the tide against him. Ibni Ziād was exposed to the crowd as a deceptive ruler.

417

Another attribute of Zaynab that manifested through this scene is known as "*Sa'ah Ṣadr* or *Sharḥ Ṣadr*,"[418] which is one of the qualities of *Walīau Allah*. This is another God-given gift given to the seeker of Kamāl. Possession of such a quality is a requirement to guide humanity. The person who has this quality will remain humble while at the center of power. The Prophet Moses,[419] before the day of challenge with Pharaoh, asked God for *Sharḥ Ṣadr*. In the Quran, this is used as a skill which helps the chosen man of God to be able to defeat the unjust leader of the time through words, actions and even miracles. As for Zaynab her moment of silence was a result of her *Sharḥ Ṣadr*. After such a manifestation of perfection by a woman this furious ruler turned around and noticed the fourth Imām and asked about his identity. When he realized that Zain Al-'Ābedīn was the son of Al-Ḥusayn, he showed his anger by disrespecting him. The Imām replied with wisdom and Ibni Ziād ordered him to be killed. Zaynab hugged her nephew and said, "Isn't it enough for you, the blood you shed of my family?" If you want to kill him you shall kill me first. [420] Ibni Ziād spared their lives and turned away. Zaynab saved her Imām's life for the second time.

Zaynab and the other women, along with Imām Sajjād, were taken back to prison without knowing what was next. Yazīd responded to Ibni Ziād's letter and asked for Al-Ḥusayn's head along with the hostages. Ibni Ziād then put the family of Al-Ḥusayn in chains and sent them from "village to village, city to city and land to land in order to disgrace them and humiliate them."[421] This path, starting from Kūfah and going to Damascus in Syria, is more than 986 Km. It was filled with challenges for Zaynab and

[418] This attributes is defined as vastness of one's capacity of inner self in receiving and digesting a great amount of challenges in hard situations.
[419] Quran 20:25.
[420] Al-Ṭabari, *Tarikh* Vol. 6, 262; Ibni Ṭawūs, *Luhūf,* 90; Ibni Athīr. *Al-Kāmil*. Vol. 4, 33.
[421] Al-Khawrazmī, *Al-Maqtal,* 8.

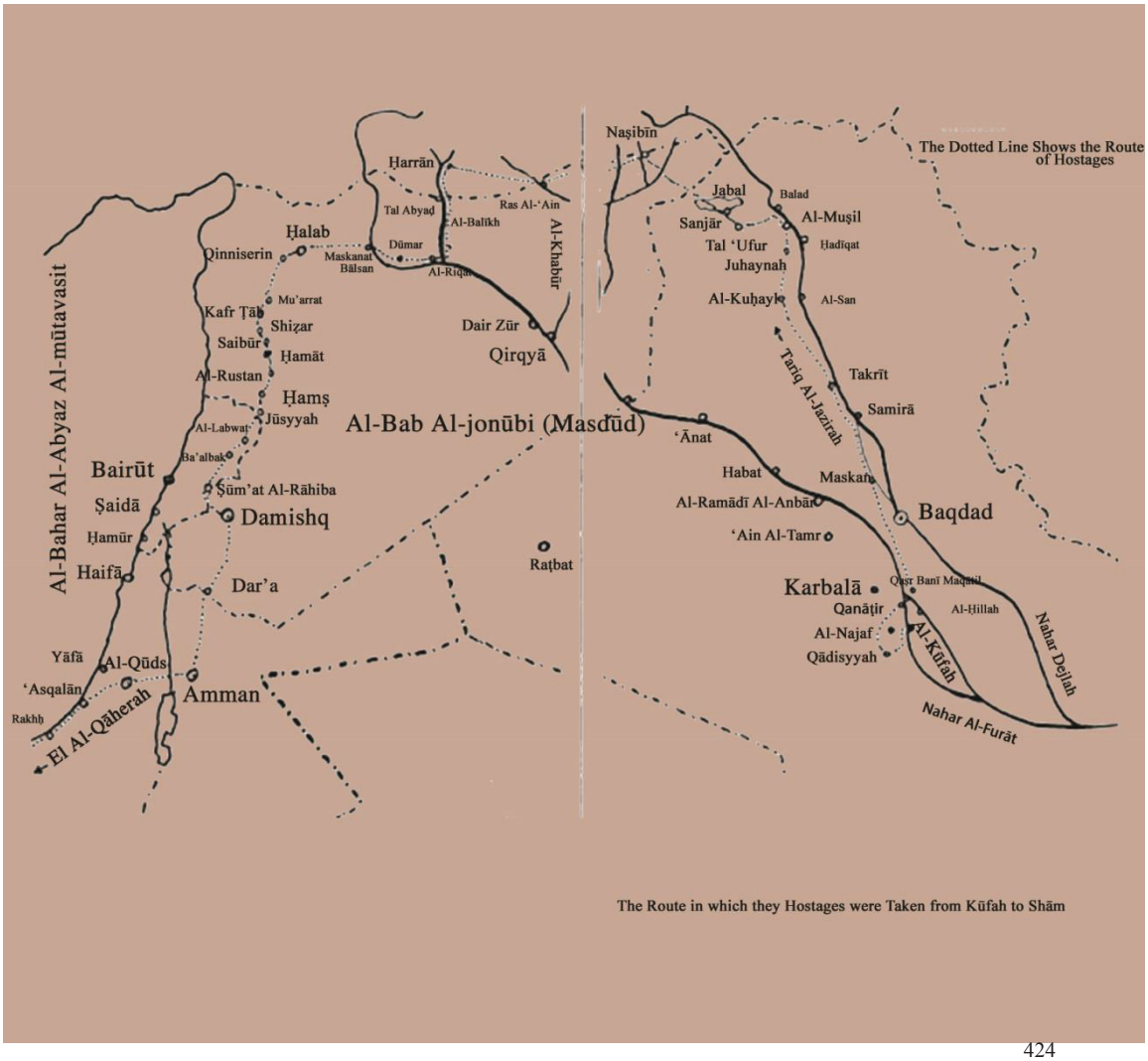
Ahl al-Bayt of Al-Ḥusayn. One group of scholars believe that the caravan went by the desert path which is shorter and faster, while another group believes they went by the some route ‘Alī went for the battle of Ṣaffīn. The second route is the longest route. The second group supports their point of view with the intense enmity that Ibni Ziād had for *Ahl al-Bayt* and his intention to torture them while on their way towards Shām. This journey began with Zaynab and other the hostages surrounded by 2,500 soldiers who were the murderers of their beloved ones. They went towards the north of Kūfah until Mūsil[422], and then turned west until Ḥalab[423], and finally inclined south towards Damascus. This path and its stops are very important for understanding Zaynab’s role in immortalizing the message of Karbalā as *Walītu Allah* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Therefore, I will list these stops.

422

423

MAP. 1. COMPLETE ROUTE OF JOURNEY OF HOSTAGES FROM KŪFAH TO SHĀM

The map below illustrates the journey of Zaynab from Kūfah to Shām. The names of the cities are numbered sequentially in the map. The events that occurred in the cities are described sequentially.



424

[424] The map is borrowed from the book of *Masū'atu Karbalā* by Labib Bayḍūn (Qum: Sulaimān Zādih, 2004). The name of cities, towns and villages are added by Shameema Adibzadeh through calculation from historical and geographical books.

1) Kharābāt[425] Shām: This is the first stop where the hostages stayed next to the Euphrates. It is in this place where the youngest daughter of Al-Ḥusayn cried so much that the soldiers brought her a surprise. In order to calm her down, they put her father's head on a tray and gave it to her covered beneath some fabric. The three-year-old uncovered her father's head and fainted. After finishing her prayers, Zaynab noticed her niece's sudden silence. She found Ruqayyah out of breath and hugging her father's head. While in tears, *Ahl al-Bayt* "surrounded the head of Al-Ḥusayn until morning,"[426] and everyone had something to say. Once again, Zaynab's patience calmed everyone down and they prepared for their departure.

2) Convent of the Christian priest: Shimr's army arrived at a hermitage on their way and they decided to rest and eat. While wandering around they noticed a poem written in blood. It included the line, "will the group who killed Al-Ḥusayn seek for his grandfather's intercession on the day of judgment."[427] Seeing that line, they feared and asked the priest about the poem. He responded that the poem was there before their prophet's birth, since "five hundred years ago."[428] He then turned around, pitying them for their shameful acts.

3) Qādisyyah:[429] Ibni Ziād had ordered Shimr and Khowlī to go through Qādisyyah to extend the length of their path, while rewarding them with five hundred horses. Being happy, they went through this city. Umul Kulthūm recited a beautiful poem about her beloved Muḥammad and mentioned those who were misguided by worldly rewards. The

---

[425] Ruined place which can be a house or a building.
[426] Ibni Juzī, *Tadhkeratu Al-Khawwāṣ* (Beirut: Dar Al-'Ulum li Tabā'ata wa Nashr, 2004), 273.
[427] Mazandaranī, *Ma'alī Al-Sebtain* Vol. 2, 72.
[428] *Ibid.*
[429] Abi Makhnaf. Maqtal Al-Al-Ḥusayn . P.110.

content of her poem without knowing Ibni Ziād's order reflects her knowledge of '*Ghayb*.'[430]

4) Palace of Banī Maqātil:[431] This stop is described as a place where *Ahl al-Bayt* suffered due to the high temperature; they had nothing to cool themselves. As Zaynab was sitting beneath the shadow of her camel, she tried to cool herself with her hands, while worrying about her sick nephew. Sakinah, the youngest daughter of Al-Ḥusayn , went beneath a tree and laid down on the ground. The caravan left without noticing her.

5) East vineyard[432] of Ibni Hubaira Palace: They passed by this village province of Kūfah near IbnI Hubaira's palace in Anbār.

6) Jarāyā- and Maskin:[433] Jarāyā and Maskin are two of the stops before reaching Takrīt.

7) Takrīt:[434] As the Caravan of Pride is moving forward towards Shām they went by Takrīt where people were celebrating the victory of Yazīd's army over the rebellion. As the family of Al-Ḥusayn entered the city, people were telling each other that the head on the spear was a man who rebelled against the Khalīfah, and that the family were hostages because they were related to this man. A Christian stood up and identified the head of Al-Ḥusayn and introduced him to the people. He told them that on his way from Kūfah he came to know about Al-Ḥusayn and his grandfather Muḥammad. He revealed to them that Al-Ḥusayn was not a rebellious man and his act was a Jihād[435] against the corrupt Khalīfah of the time. After he spoke, all the Christians went inside their sanctuary and

---

[430] unseen
[431] Mazandaranī, *Ma'ali Al-Sebtain* Vol. 2, 72.
[432] *Makhṭūṭah Maṣra'* Al-Al-Ḥusayn, 38.
[433] Ibid.
[434] Mazandarani. *Ma'ali Al-Sebtain,* Vol. 2, 73.
[435] Struggling and striving on the way of Allah.

locked the doors. They stated that they disliked the people who murdered the son of the daughter of their prophet. Therefore, they stayed away from the soldiers whom were carrying the head of Al-Ḥusayn .

8) Tarīq Al-Birr[436]: This is the route that the army of Shimr took towards Shām.

9) Al-A‘amā:

10) Convent of ‘Urwah

11) Ṣalīyā/Ṣalītā

12) Wādī Al-Nakhlāt (Mabīt):[437] The caravan spent the night at this place. Abū Mikhnaf states that here the voices of female Jinn could be heard crying about the tragedy of Karbalā and Al-Ḥusayn’s innocence.

13) Armīnā:

14) Mirshād[438]: It was in this land that the people were happy to see the heads and the hostages, and would salute Muḥammad and his Ahl al-Bayt. It was interesting, became they rejected salutations without knowing that the hostages were the *Ahl al-Bayt* of Muḥammad. On the other hand, they would damn the enemies of Muḥammad and his family without knowing that Shimr and his army were those enemies.

---

[436] Lūṭ Ibni Yaḥyā Ibni Sa’īd Ibni Mikhanaf Ibni Salīm Ibni Al-Azadī Al-Ghāidī, *Maqtal Abi Mikhnaf* (Qum: Muasseseh Tahqiqat wa nashri Ma’arif Ahlu Al-Bayt, 1998), 113.
[437] *Ibid.*
[438] *Muntakhab Al-Tawarikh*, P. 481; Al-Ḥanafī, *Yanabi’u Al-Mawadda,* Vol. 2, 177.

15) Līnā or Birsābād[439]: In this part of the journey the army stopped near the place where people - young and old, rich and poor - were awaiting their arrival. As they saw the caravan of pride following the head of Al-Ḥusayn , they saluted the head and the family. They damned the army as the enemy of *Ahl al-Bayt* who killed the children of the prophet. Then they chased the army out of their land.

16) Al-Kuḥayl:

17) Juhaynat:

18) ‘Asqalān: This city is located in Iraq and should not be confused with the city in Palestine. As Shimr’s army approached, the people of ‘Asqalān decorated the city with lights at their leader’s command. They prepared drinks and musical instruments to celebrate the entrance of Shimr and his army, and to humiliate the hostages. As Zaynab and her caravan entered, the residents got drunk and danced and said bitter words. Among them was a businessman called Khazā‘yi who was not from ‘Asqalān, and asked the reason for this happiness. One of the citizens responded that they were celebrating the victory of their army against a man who wanted to rebel against the Khalīfah. He lost the war and was killed. His head was taken and his family were hostages. Then Khazā’yi asked about their faith. The citizen answered that the rebel was claiming that he was the master of the Muslims. The questioner asked the reason behind the revolution. The citizen responded that the rebel leader was claiming that he was the son of Muḥammad. Khazā’yi asked about his mother and father and his name. The citizen responded that his name was Al-Ḥusayn son of Fāṭimah and ‘Alī. When Khazā’yi heard the name of Al-

[439] *Ibid.*

Ḥusayn the whole world turned dark and he cried. Hastily, he rushed towards the caravan and looked at Imām Zain Al-'Ābedīn and cried. The Imām asked for the reason for his crying since everyone else was happy. He responded, "I know about your nobility and your great ancestors. I see this happy crowd as the stupidest on the earth as they cannot recognize the real Khalīfah!" Imām prayed for him and said, "Well done, oh Khazā'yi, as you have knowledge of *Ahl al-Bayt* and their love in your heart." Khazā'yi said, "Is there any service that I can offer to you?" Imām replied, "Please take the man who is carrying the head of Al-Ḥusayn ahead of the caravan so the men in the street will get distracted by it and stop their disturbing looks at the women of Al-Ḥusayn 's family." Khazā'yi then paid money and gold to Khawlī and he went forward. Thus the women rested from the lost looks of drunken men. Afterward Khazā'yi came back to Imām to offer him more service and the Imām requested extra clothing if he had any with him. When the hostages were chased out of the burning tents they had no chance to cover themselves, and the enemy took their clothing and scarves in wild abandon. Khazā'yi rushed to bring what the Imām had requested. Shimr noticed him and yelled, "Who are you and what are you doing?" He damned Shimr and asked him whether he knew whose head was on the spear. Shimr got angry and ordered him to be beaten by his soldiers. As his bleeding body was thrown out of the city he approached the Masjid and continued his tears.

19) Al-Mūṣil:[440] Shimr wrote a letter to the leaders of Al-Mūṣil who suggested that he not enter the city. They feared that seeing Al-Ḥusayn's head and his family inside the city would make people turn against Yazīd. The people of Mūṣil were known

[440] Bayḍūn, Labīb *Mawkab Al-Abā,* 238.

as lovers of ‘Alī Ibni Abī Ṭālib. Therefore, they did not allow Shimr and his army inside, but took provision out beyond their city boundaries and gave it to them.

20) Tal U‘afurr:[441] This place is the beginning of the Bariāt road.

21) Jabal Sanjār:[442] This land is inside Syria the east side of the land was located in Iraq and the west side in Syria. Sanjar is named after Sanjar Ibni Da’r, who saved Joseph from the well. This land is known for its lovers and followers of *Ahl al-Bayt* and there is a now a shrine for Zaynab which was built later on.

22) Naṣibīn (mabīt): This city is a day away from Turkey. When the caravan arrived in this land, they stayed for the night inside a convent. Another narration states that this city was decorated with thousands of mirrors in celebration of Yazīd’s victory. The ruler was named Manṣūr Ibni Ilyās.

23) Kafar Nobat

24) ‘Ain Al-Wardat (Ras Al-‘Ain)

25) Convent Al-Raheb

26) Harrān

27) Da‘awāt (mabīt)[443]: It was near Da‘awāt that Shimr came to know about the army which Khazā’yi prepared to fight them. Therefore, when night fell they sought a safe place to rest. They reached a monastery. The chief priest, Al-Qasis, attended to their request as

[441] *Mokhawato Masra’ Al-Al-Ḥusayn*, 43.
[442] Yāqūt Hamāwīi, *Mu’jam Al-Buldān*, Vol. 3, 262.
[443] Mazandarani. *Ma’ali Al-Sebtain,*Vol. 2, 82.

they introduced themselves. Al-Qasīs was a monotheistic man who was affected when he saw the head of Al-Ḥusayn. While he allowed Shimr's army and the caravan of *Ahl al-Bayt* to spend the night, he remained curious about the light revolving around Al-Ḥusayn 's head. Shimr placed the head inside a box and locked it. After they slept, Al-Qasīs heard a special tone of recitations. Following the voices, he saw a huge light and women crying around the box. He found it miraculous and took the head out. After cleaning the head and putting perfume on it, he started to speak with Al-Ḥusayn 's head. He asked Al-Ḥusayn to introduce himself. The head introduced himself as the son of Muḥammad, ʻAli and Fāṭimah, the martyr of Karbalā who died thirsty, innocent and alone, and afterward was impaled on a spear. As he heard the story of Karbalā Al-Qasīs burst into tears. He then narrated his experience to his seventy students, and they all cried. They rang their bells and came to Imām Zain Al-ʻĀbedin to convey their condolences. Al-Qasīs asked whether he could do anything or fight Shimr to set the Imām and the hostages free. The Imām encouraged them to remain patient, as the promise of God is true and His punishment is close.

28) Al-Raqqāt: The mountain of Saffin, where the battle of Saffīn between Muʻāwiah and ʻAlī took place, is in this land.

29) Dusar (Jaʻabar)

30) Bālis (Maskanat)[444]

[444] *Mokhawato Masra' Al-Al-Ḥusayn*, 43.

31) Ḥalab (Jabal Al-Joshan/mabīt):[445] In this land one of the women of the caravan had a miscarriage during the night. Also, the people of Halab locked the doors on Shimr, so the group ended up of staying outside the territory of the village.

32) Qenneserīn: As they approached Qenneserīn, the people of the city remained behind locked doors and cursed Shimr and his army for killing the family of the prophet. Therefore, they ended up spending the night in a convent. The head of this sacred place was a man of *Ghayb*. Thus the minute he saw the head of Al-Ḥusayn he could see the light and unseen reality. He gave 1,000 derham and borrowed Al-Ḥusayn 's head for the night. When alone with the head, he started a conversation with the Imām and converted to Islam.

33) Ma'arat Al-Nu'mān:[446] In this land Shimr and his army enjoyed themselves. They drank and danced and were fed by the people of the city.

34) Kafra Tāb:

35) Sheyzir (mabīt)

36) Saybūr (ma'arakat)

37) Ḥamāt (Jabal Zain Al-'Ābedin/mabīt)

38) Al-Rustan

39) Ḥamṣ (Synagogue of Jirjīs)

[445] Yāqūt Hamāwīi, *Mu'jam Al-Buldān*, Vol. 3, 262.
[446] Abi Mikhanaf. *Maqtal Abi Mikhnaf*, 116.

40) Khandaq Al-Ta‘ām

41) Jusiah (Jabal-Al-Ḥusayn)

42) Al-Labwat

43) Ba‘albak (mabīt)

44) Convent Rāhib

45) Village of Al-Al-Ḥusayn at Bī-Soaq wādī Bardī

46) Hajr near Damascus

Journey of the Caravan of Pride from Kūfah to Shām reveals two different reactions from the public. One group respected the caravan of *Ahl al-Bayt* of Al-Ḥusayn and looked with disgrace on Shimr's army. The other group cast dirty looks at *Ahl al-Bayt* and threw stones or sticks to hurt them. On the other hand, would respect Shimr's army and celebrate with them. There were also several groups of non-Muslims who highly respected the family of Al-Ḥusayn . Although Zaynab and her group were abused, cursed and went through tremendous hardship, they did not mind it at all. When being cursed by rude and ignorant people, Zaynab's patience and her Kirāmah appeared as her response. Her silence towards disrespect shows her huge capacity for patience and the eliteness of her soul. She does not care about others, but only cares about Allah's satisfaction. Is it possible for a human being to lose her beloved family in an unjust tragedy, be taken around as hostage, laughed at and disrespected, yet have silence, respect, forgiveness, and strong speech in defense of the message as her only reactions? She not only reflects the

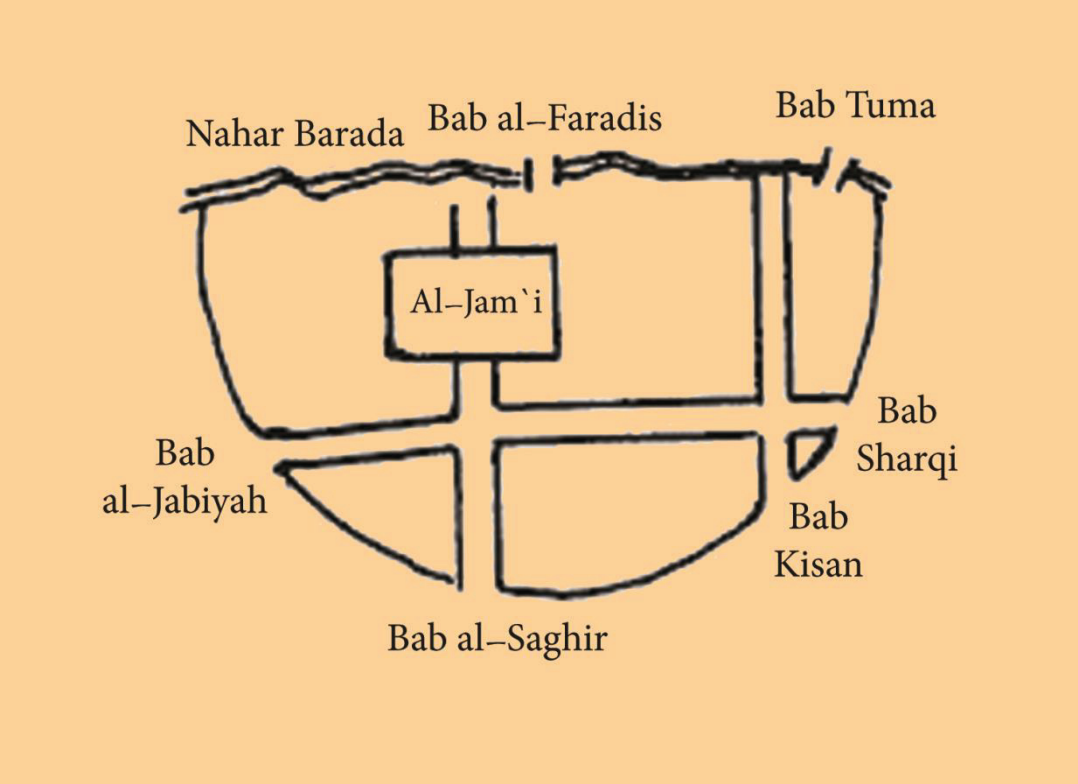
symbol of *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*; she sets a practical example of morality and Islamic ethics in the middle of hardship. She manifests the true face of a Muslim woman against her enemies with Kiramah, to such an extent that Christians and Jews - who are not considered followers of her faith - note her level of humanity and perfection and praise her.

47) Shām/Damascus: Shimr's army and the caravan of pride arrived at the gate of Shām, where they "kept *Ahl al-Bayt* for three days out side of the city."[447] Yet the people of Shām, who had decorated the city, "came to see the hostages"[448] and started their celebration. After three days, as they were about to enter the city, Umul Kulthūm[449] requested that Shimr take them in through a less crowded entrance to the city. She also asked him to put the heads in front of them so people would get distracted and would not notice the women hostages. Her concern was to allow the group some rest from the sight of men, which was disturbing to the righteous women. The caravan of pride entered Damascus on the 1st day of Ṣafar. Shimr lead the group from the east side of the old city of Shām through the Kaisān[450] door. They continued through the Tumā gate, which leads to the Aghurā yard where people were awaiting them. Leaders of Yazīd's army, scholars from different cities, spiritual leaders of Christians and Jews were next to lay people who welcomed Shimr's army.

---

[447] Abū Isḥāq Al-Isfareini, *Nur Al-'Ain fi Mashhad Al-Al-Ḥusayn* (Tunis: Maṭb'ah Al-Nār, 1982), 87.
[448] Qurashī, *Ḥayātu Al-Imām Al-Ḥusayn*, Vol. 3, 368.
[449] Najmu Al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibni J'afar Ibni Abī Al-Baqā Hibatu Allah Ibni Namā Al-Ḥillī, *Mathir Al-Ahzan*, (Najaf: Maṭb'ah Ḥaidaryyah, 1950), 72; Ibni Ṭawūs, Luhūf, 73.
[450] Bayḍūn*, Masū'atu Karbalā* Vol. 2, 431. In this book he gathered opinions different scholars such as *Khawrazmī* , *Abi Mikhanaf, Isfarayeni*, Luhūf and other sources such as *Mokhawato al-Al-Ḥusayn* and *muntakhab* about the routes in which the Caravan was taken inside Shām by Shimr's army.

MAP. 2. LIST OF GATES IN OLD DAMUSCUS

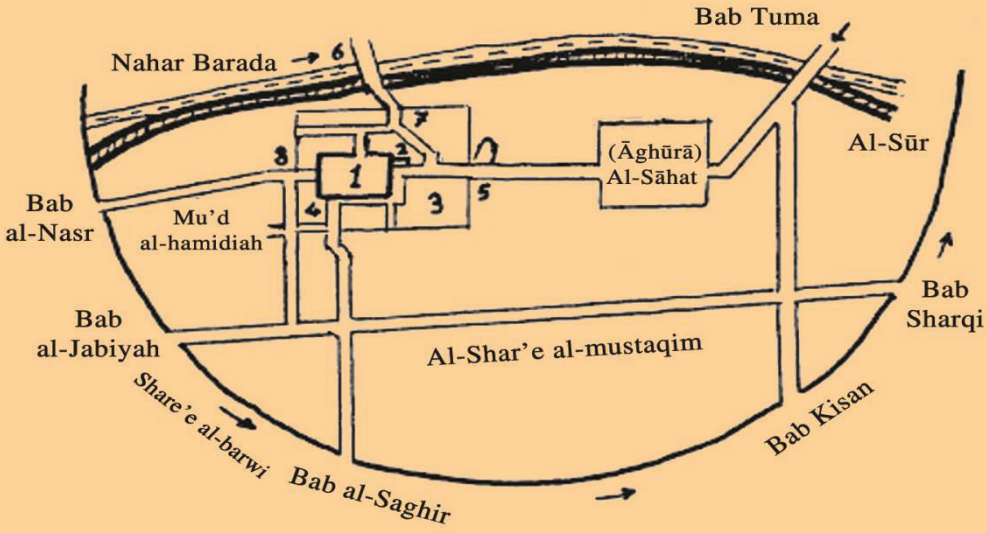


[451]

After the celebration the caravan passed through the gate of Jairūn that is on the east side of Yazīd's palace and Masjid Jāme'.'[452] Stopping next to this gate, they blew their trumpets and had another feast for the victory of Shimr and his army. From this point they went towards the gate of Farādis, as they did not enter the Masjid, and stayed there for an hour. Yazīd's palace was designed in a way that allowed him to look at the hostages as they were taken around the Shām. Afterward they were moved to the gate of Sāaāt and stayed there for three hours. Imām Sajjād was in chains and Yazīd was enjoying the view. Finally, they received permission to enter to the palace.

[451] Map of Gates for the Old City of Shām. This map is borrowed from *Mawkab Al-Abā* by Labīb Bayḍūn. Translated by Shameema Adibzadeh.
[452] The main Masjid of each city is called Masjid Jame'.

MAP. 3. THE ROUTE WHERE HOSTAGES WERE LED INSIDE THE SHĀM



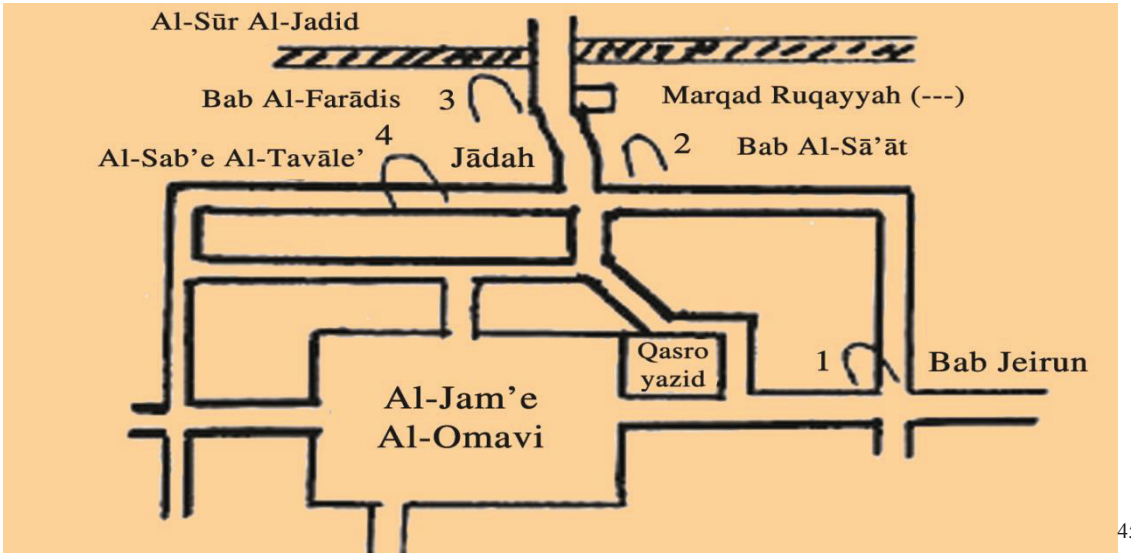
453

Yazīd's men tied the hostages together with one rope and lined them on the stairs leading to Yazīd's ceremonial hall. They entered. Yazīd had filled the hall with food and wine, and he had invited scholars of all religions, including Muslims.

[453] Detailed Map of Old City of Shām which shows the inner layer of the city. This map is borrowed from *Mawkab Al-Abā* by Labīb Bayḍūn. Translated by Shameema Adibzadeh.

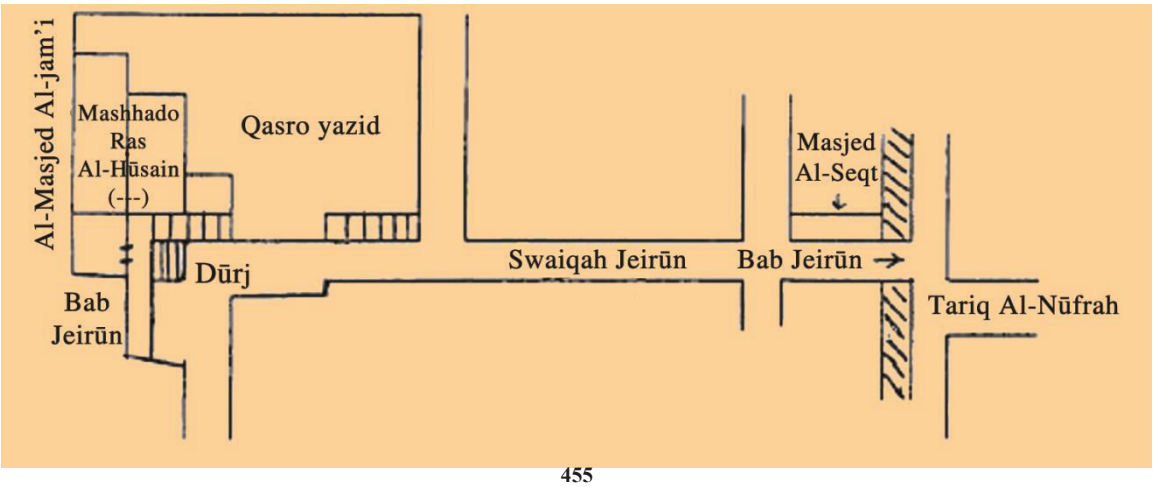
Men and women had separate areas. There was curtain between his household and the crowd. *Ahl al-Bayt* of Al-Ḥusayn in the other hand, were not given the same courtesy and were displayed together publically.

MAP. 4. MASJID AL-JĀMI‘ AND YAZĪD’S PALACE



[454]

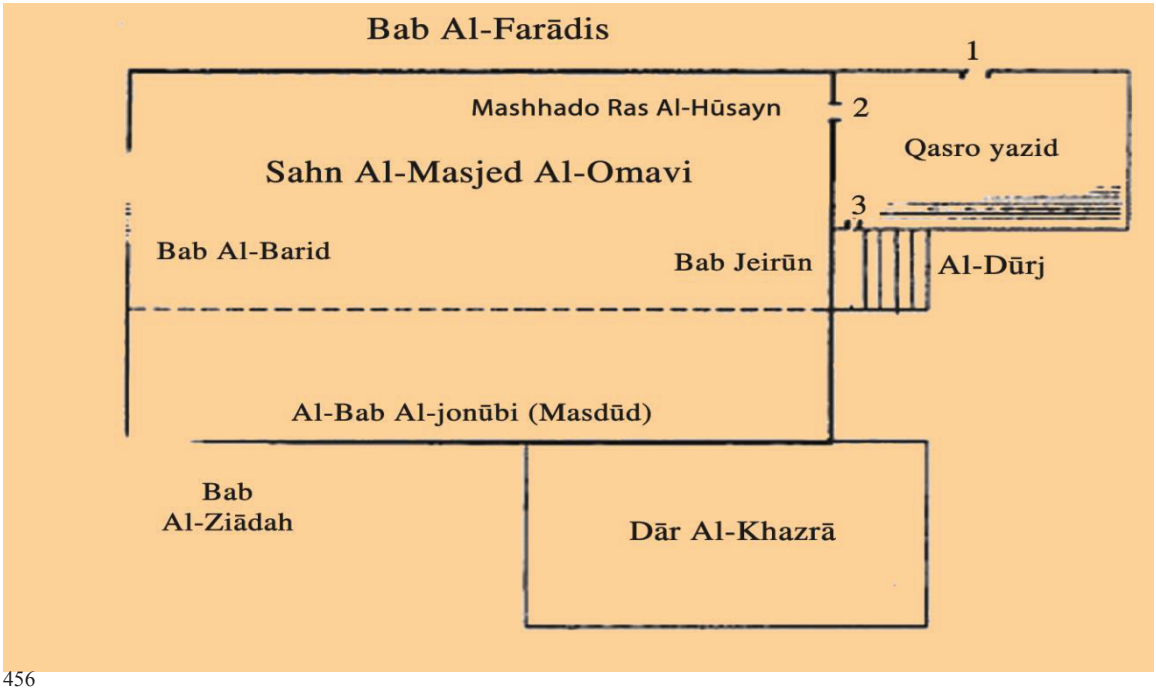
MAP. 5. GATES LEADING TOWARDS YAZĪD’S PALACE



455

[454] Yazīd’s palace is next to Masjid Al-Jāmi‘ and thus he sees the hostages as they are being kept next to the Masjid’s door. This map is borrowed from *Mawkab Al-Abā* by Labīb Bayḍūn. Translated by Shameema Adibzadeh.

MAP. 6. MASJID AL-JĀMI' SITE PLAN IN OLD DAMUSCUS



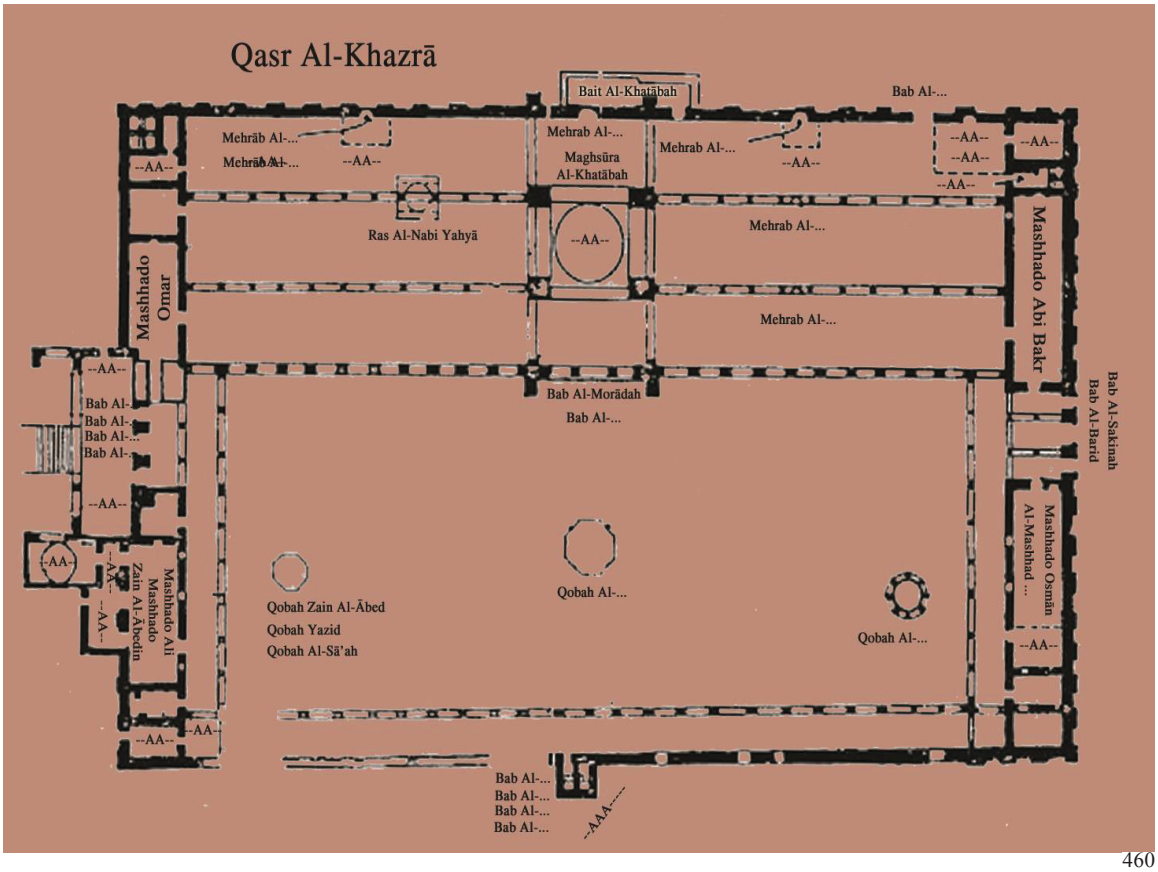
[456]

Yazīd was fully enjoying his victory as he approached Imām Zain Al-'Abedīn. Knowing who he was, Yazīd asked him, "O Alī! Whats your approach on what Allah did to your father? What Allah, the One and Only God, the most Exalted One, had decreed before creating the heavens and the earth?"[457] Yazīd asked his advisors what to do with him. They suggested killing him, but Yazīd wanted to enjoy abusing them more. As a result, he continued his rant at the Imām. This ultimately backfired when the Imām gave a brilliant rebuttal above the pulpit. In his speech, he fully introduced himself and showed his strong ties to the prophet and prophet's daughter, and his righteous Khalīfah. Approaching this part of his speech, the hall was on fire from the uproar and cries of the

[455] Mashhad Al-Ras Al-Ḥusayn is where the head of Imām Al-Ḥusayn was held. This map is borrowed from *Mawkab Al-Abā* by Labīb Bayḍūn. Translated by Shameema Adibzadeh.
[456] Dār Al-Khaḍrā with respect to the Masjid and Palace. This map is borrowed from *Mawkab Al-Abā* by Labīb Bayḍūn. Translated by Shameema Adibzadeh.
[457] Al-Muqarram, *Maqtal Al-Ḥusayn,* Ch.66.

crowd. Yazīd became fearful of the people's dissension. He ordered the *Adhān*[458] to be recited in order to put an end to the Imām's sermon. As the reciter of Adhan reached the phrase, "I bear witness that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah," the Imām asked him for a moment of silence. Then Imām asked Yazīd, "whether Muḥammad was the Imām's grandfather or not? And if yes then why Yazīd had killed his father, plundered his wealth and captured his *Ahl al-Bayt*?"[459] The caller of *Adhān* continued reciting, and prayer was held after some people had left the hall.

MAP. 7. YAZĪD'S PALACE SITE PLAN IN OLD DAMUSCUS



460

[458] Call for prayers.
[459] Al-Muqarram, *Maqtal Al-Ḥusayn* , Ch.66.
[460] Map of Masjid Al-Jāmi'. This map is borrowed from *Mawkab Al-Abā* by Labīb Bayḍūn. Translated by Shameema Adibzadeh.

The ambience at the palace was a combination of Yazīd's gloating, the people's feeling of remorse, *Ahl al-Bayt*'s sorrow, and confusion among the scholars from other faiths. The Imām's speech made the crowd aware of his true identity, and the people started questioning the act of Yazīd. Meanwhile, a Christian who was sent by Caesar, spoke to Yazīd. He mentioned that they as Christians respect "the hoof of the donkey which Jesus rode on as a sacred matter,"[461] thus he wondered was it possible for Yazīd to kill the grandchild of his prophet. Yazīd became angry and ordered him to be executed. This behavior clarified his evil character to the Christian, who ran towards Al-Ḥusayn's head and recited Shahādah. The situation was getting out of hand.

A Syrian man asked Yazīd to have Fāṭimah the daughter of 'Alī as his servant. Fāṭimah grabbed "her aunt's over garment and asked help from Zaynab."[462] Zaynab calmed her down and told her not to worry, as this act was impossible and there was no good in it for her or for him. Yazīd interfered by stating that "all things are possible if Khalīfah orders." Zaynab debated that by ordering such an act, Yazīd would be 'walking out of Islam." In his anger he screamed that it was Zaynab's father and brother ones who walked out of Islam. Zaynab then "referred to 'Alī and Al-Ḥusayn as the ones who were chosen to guide Yazīd and his ancestors." At this point Yazīd accused Zaynab of being a liar. She replied "You are an Amīr over the destiny of people; you oppressively taunt and

---

[461] Ibid; Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalani, Al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqa, p. 119; Abdullah Nur-Allah al-Bahrani, Maqtal al-'AWalīm, p. 151. Ibn Nama, Muthir al-Azan. On p. 72, Vol. 2, of his book Maqtal al-Al-Ḥusayn , al-Khawarizmi states the dialogue between the Christian [envoy] and Yazid and how the first was killed, but he does not indicate that the most sacred head spoke.

[462] Al-Kharazmi. Maqtal. Vol.2. P.62; al-Ṭabari, Tarikh, Vol. 6. Ibn Kathir, Al-Bidaya, Vol. 8, p. 194. as-Saduq, Al-Amali, p. 100, majlis 31. Both Ibn Nama, on p. 54 of his Muthir al-Azan, and al-Khawarizmi, on p. 62, Vol. 2, of his Maqtal al-Al-Ḥusayn , say that she was Fatima daughter of al-Al-Ḥusayn

subdue others."[463] Yazīd recklessly continued his debate to quiet Zaynab by reciting poems from Ibni Al-Zub'ari:

I wish my forefathers at Badr[464] had witnessed
How the Khazraj are by the thorns annoyed,
They would have Glorified and Unified Allah
Then they would make *tahlīl* [465]and say in elation:
May your hands, O Yazīd, never be paralyzed!
We have killed the masters of their chiefs
And equated it with Badr, and it was so, indeed;
Hashim[466] played with the dominion so
No news came, nor a revelation descended.
I do not belong to Khandaf if I do not
Seek revenge from Ahmad's offspring
For what he had done.

The moment which Zaynab awaited so eagerly had finally arrived. She had to act not only as the representative of Al-Ḥusayn, but as the voice of Muḥammad, Alī and Fāṭimah. As Yazīd talked revenge, Zaynab reviewed her moments with the people who formed and shaped the history of Islam. It was her promise to Muḥammad her beloved grandfather, as he was on his deathbed and it was an oath which she made to Fāṭimah as she was taking her final breaths. She was about to manifest Zaynab's meaning as an adornment of her father, and defend 'Alī's neglected right of Khilāfah. She was about to speake of Al-Ḥasan's innocent silence against Mu'āwiah, and the bleeding head of Al-Ḥusayn saying there is no will but Allah's will. It was for the sake of humanity and

[463] Ibni Athīr, *Asad Al-Ghābbah fi M'arifat Al-Ṣahabat,* Vol. 4, 35.
[464] This battle was between Muḥammad and his opponent from Makkah at 624 C.E. when Yazid's grandfather Abu Sufyan was defeated, arrested and set free by Muḥammad.
[465] Approving an act by saying that God is great.
[466] Muḥammad's grandfather was Hashim and thus Muḥammadis from Bani Hashem tribe.

generations to be and thus Zaynab preserved Islam from corruption. By relying on Allah and His attributes she bravely stood up against the most powerful political figures of her time. As Zaynab delivered her speech regarding God's religion and the attributes of His prophets and messengers, *Walīatu Allah*, *Khalifatu Allah* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil* were manifested by this woman of a noble family. She became the voice of Islam which had been suffocated by the Khalīfah and his father. She acquitted her families honor as once being praised by Allah and Muḥammad. She spoke as the inheritor of the prophet's voice and attributes. She inherited the unique experience of Adam and Eve in the ups and downs of their journey, the perseverance of Noah, *Taṣṣaruf* of Solomon, the patience of Ayyūb, the wisdom of Luqmān, *Adhghāth-e-Aḥlām* of Joseph, the fear of Asiah, the community of Moses, the loneliness of Jesus, the chastity of Maryam, the virtue of Khadījah, Islam and *Akhlāq* of Muḥammad, '*Ibādah* of Fāṭimah, the obedience of 'Alī, the innocence of Al-Ḥasan and *Jihād*[467] in the way of Allah of Al-Ḥusayn. Therefore, she stood before Yazīd while a nation of sacred role models stood behind her.

[467]Participationg in battle to protect one's land, life, honor or religion for the sake of Allah.

CHAPTER 6

ZAYNAB'S SPEECH IN RESPONSE TO YAZĪD IN SHĀM[468]

The content of Zaynab's speech in the palace of Yazīd is different that her sermon before Ibni Ziād. As a Khaṭṭāb,[469] Zaynab understands her audience. This time they are scholars of Islam and other religions. Her statements, therefore, are not to bring awareness to those who already know the truth, but to prove Yazīd's in competency as Khalīfah. Thus, her speech highlights Yazīd's flaws and corruption, and defends Al-Ḥusayn's intention to attened the battle of Karbalā, and, his martyrdom.

"Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds (1) and blessings on Muḥammad and all the members of his family(2). O Yazīd, Allah says, and his word is true, that: 'Then evil was the end of those who did evil because they rejected the communications of Allah and used to mock them' [30:10]."(3)

"O Yazīd, do you believe that you have succeeded in closing the sky and the earth for us and that we have become your captives just because we have been brought before you in a row and that you have secured control over us? Do you believe that we have been afflicted with insult and dishonour by Allah and that you have been given honour and respect by Him? You have become boastful of this apparent victory that you have secured and you have started feeling jubilant and proud over this prestige and honour. You think that you have achieved worldly good and that your affairs have become stable and our rule has fallen into your hands. Wait for a while. Do not be so joyful. Have you forgotten Allah's saying: "The unbelievers should not carry the impression that the time allowed to them by us is good for them. Surely we give them time so that they may increase their evil deeds, and eventually they will be given insulting chastisement."[3:187] (4)

"O son of freed slaves, is this your justice that you keep your own daughters and slave maids veiled while the daughters of the Prophet of Allah are being paraded from place to place exposed." You have dishonoured us by unveiling our faces. Your men take us from town to town where all sorts of people, whether they be residents of the hills or of riversides, have been looking at us. The near as well as the remote ones, the poor as well as the rich, the low as well as the high, all casting their glances at us while our position is such that there is no male relative of ours to render us help or support."(5)

"O Yazīd, whatever you have done proves your revolt against Allah and your denial of His Prophet, of the Book and Sunnah that the Holy Prophet brought from Allah. Your deeds should not cause amazement because one whose ancestors chewed the livers of the martyrs, whose flesh grew up on virtuous people, who fought against the Chief of divine prophets, who mobilized parties for fighting against him and drew swords against him, should conspicuously excel all Arabs in unbelief, sinfulness, excesses, and enmity against Allah and His Prophet. Remember that the evil deeds and

---

[468] I believe that her speech need to be read and thus I have provided Zaynab's sermon by Anita Rai's translation. The commentary of Zaynab's sermon is included in the next chapter. Anita Rai, *Essential Women* (London: Starsighter Limited, 2005) 51-55. Reprinted with permission from Anita Rai.

[469] One who knows the art of giving speeches.

sinful actions that you have committed are the result of unbelief and old rancour you bear because of your ancestors who were killed in Badr."(6)

"One who casts his glance of enmity, malice and rancour upon us does not lag behind in practicing enmity against us. He proves his unbelief, declares it with his tongue and jubilantly proclaims: 'I have killed the sons of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) of Allah and made his progeny captive,' and wishes that his ancestors had lived to see his achievement and to have exclaimed, 'O Yazīd, may your hands not lose their strength, you have wreaked good vengeance on our behalf'. O Yazīd, you are striking the lips of Imām Al-Ḥusayn with your stick in front of this crowd while these very lips used to be kissed by the Prophet (P.B.U.H) of Allah, and yet your face reflects pleasure and happiness."(7)

"By my life, by killing the chief of youths of Paradise, the son of the chief of Arabs, Ali and the shining sun of the progeny of Abd-ul-Muttalib, you have deepened our wound and uprooted us completely. By killing Al-Ḥusayn ibne Ali you have gained nearness to the state of your unbelieving ancestors. You proclaim your deed with pride and if they were to see you they would approve of your action and pray that Allah may not paralyse your arms."(8)

"O Yazīd! If you had heart enough to take account of your nefarious deeds, you yourself would surely wish your arms to be paralysed and severed from your elbow and you would wish that your parents had not given birth to you because you would know that Allah has become displeased with you. Allah, Grant us our rights and punish those who have oppressed us."(9)

"O Yazīd! You did what you wished, but remember that you have cut your own skin and your own flesh to pieces. Soon you will be brought before the Holy Prophet. You will be overburdened with the weight of your sins committed by shedding the blood of his progeny and by dishonouring his family. The place to which you will be taken will be before all the members of his family. The oppressed will be avenged and the enemies will be punished."

"O Yazīd! It is not seeming for you to swell with joy after slaying the Prophet's progeny. 'Reckon not those who are killed in Allah's way as dead; nay, they are alive and are provided sustenance from their Lord; rejoicing in what Allah has given them out of His grace' [3:169-170]. Allah is sufficient to deal with you. The Messenger of Allah is your antagonist and Hadrat Jibra'il is our support and help against you."

"Those who have made you the head of state and burdened the Muslims with your leadership will soon find out what awaits them. The end of all tyrants is agony."

"O Yazīd. I speak not to you thus to warn you of the severe chastisement in store for you so that you should be regretful; for you are one of those whose hearts are hardened, souls are rebellious and whose bodies are busy in Allah's disobedience while they are under the curse of the Prophet of Allah. You are from among those in whose heart Satan has made his abode and has been breeding young ones."

"How amazing it is that the virtuous people, sons of the divine prophets and vicegerents are killed at the hands of liberated slaves, evil-doers and sinners. Our blood is shed by their hands and our flesh serves as food for them. We feel grieved for those whose bodies are lying un-shrouded and unburied in the battlefield, wounded with arrows."

"O Yazīd, if you consider our defeat as your achievement then you will have to pay its price. " Allah commits no injustice to His servants. Our reliance is on Allah. He alone is our relief and place of protection, and in Him alone do we repose our hope."

"You may contrive and try however much you can. By Him who honoured us with revelation, the Book and Prophethood, you cannot achieve our status, nor reach our position, nor can you affect our mention, nor remove from yourself that shame and dishonour that is now your lot because of perpetrating excess and oppression on us. Your word now is weak and your days are counted. Beware of the day when the announcer would announce the curse of Allah on the oppressors and the unjust."

"Praise be to Allah who gave good end to His friends and granted them success in their aims, and thereafter called them back to His mercy, pleasure and bliss, while you hurled yourself into evil and mischief by committing injustice against them. We pray to Allah to favour us with full recompense through them and grant us the good of Khilafat and Imāmat. Surely Allah is Kind and the Most Merciful over His creatures."

Commentary

(1)Zaynab begins her words with "*Alhamdulillahi Rabbi Al-'Alamīn*"[470]giving a complete version of her appreciation the God of Universe. The word "*Ḥamd*"[471] in Arabic implies the perfect version of thankfulness of humans towards Allah. "*Rabb*"[472] is one of the names of Allah which refers to His role as a teacher of His creatures. He is one who, through His guidance, elevates them from their lowest level of being to the highest level of their perfection. This phrase reveals Zaynab's world view as she thanks Allah in spite of all the hardships and misery that she has been through. She views the previous events as a journey in which Allah wants her and her family to be perfect. Therefore, she refers to Allah as *Rabb*, refering to the teachings and lessons provided through this journey for herself and the Caravan of Pride. Furthermore, she used the word "*'Ālamīn*"[473] as an adjective after *Rabb* to show that these lessons are not only for her but 'for all humanity.'[474] The starting phrase shows Zaynab's intention of teaching the audience about the saga of Karbalā and it's messages. This phrase also points out another important quality of Zaynab: She was one who could experienced horrible tragedies in her life, yet interpret them as blissful teachings of her *Rabb*. This is the thesis statement of Zaynab's speech.

(2) Her second sentence is for the purpose of aligning herself with the the salutation of Allah upon Muḥammad and his household. This phrase " *Wa Ṣallah Allah*

---

[470] (الحمد لله رب العالمين) All praise is to God (Allah), Lord of the worlds.
[471] الحمد, 'Alhamdu Lillah' according Tafsir Al-Mizan "is the a sort of a training to the servant- a training without which he could not know how to declair the praise of Allah." Muḥammad Al-Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāyī, *Tafsīir Al-Mīzān* (Qum: Muassasah Al-Alamyah Maṭbū'āt, 1997), Chapter Hamd.
[472] رب , Quran 20:50. Prophet Moses in his debate with Pharaoh refers to Allah with this word as one who his guidance is provided for everyone.
[473] العالمين
[474] She could say Rabbuna, our Lord and this way the lesson's which she learned from the event of Karbalā would specifically belong to her and her family.

'Alā Rasūlih Wa Ālihī Ajmaīn"[475] is one of the most important. Mentioned in Quran, it is known as *Ṣalawāt*. In Sūrah Al-Aḥzāb verse 56: "Verily, God and His angels bless the Prophet: (hence) O you who have attained to faith, bless him and give yourselves up (to his guidance) in utter self-surrender!"[476] This phrase is given as a gift to Muḥammad. Per Quran, Allah ordered angels to prostrate to Adam, the first prophet. Allah shows Adam's importance as a sacred creature. Yet, the case for Muḥammad is different. As mentioned in 33:56 not only do angels salute him but, Allah also accompanies them in this salutation. While Adam was the subject of prostration for one time, Muḥammad remains as the only one whom Allah, angels and "*Mumenīn'*"[477] salute for eternity. Therefore, as the verse indicates, when someone salutes Muḥammad his/her act is next to Allah as Allah is saluting Muḥammad as well. The word "*Ṣalawāt*"[478] is translated "on inclination towards." [479] Thus, *Ṣalawāt* of God is His inclination towards Muḥammad through His mercies. Similarly *Ṣalawāt* of angels upon Muḥammad is their inclination towards Muḥammad through seeking forgiveness for him. In addition, the *Ṣalawāt* of *Mumenīn* is their inclination towards Muḥammad by asking Allah to give His bounties to Muḥammad. According to 'Alī Ibni Abī Ṭālib, one of the qualities of *Ṣalawāt* is known as the 'fulfillment of prayers, intentions and wishes.'[480] Zaynab therefore, sought help from Allah for perfect deliverance of her speech by using *Ṣalawāt* as the best phrase to

---

[475] The second phrase(صلى اللهُ عَلى رسوله و آله أجمعين و) This phrase is a given gift to Muḥammad. As Allah ordered angels to prostrate to Adam, the first prophet, according to Quran, Allah shows Adam's importance as a sacred creature. Yet, the case for Muḥammad is different. As mentioned in Quran not only do angels salute him, but Allah also accompaning them in this salutation. While Adam was the subject of prostration for one time , Muḥammad remains the only one whom Allah, angels and the Ummah salute for eternity. Therefore, when someone salutes Muḥammad his/her act is next to Allah as Allah is saluting Muḥammad as well.

[476] Asad translation. See Yusuf Ali's translation "Allah and His angels send blessings on the Prophet: O ye that believe! send ye blessings on him and salute him with all respect."

[477] Faithful people and believers.

[478] صَلَوات

[479] Ṭabāṭabāyī, *Tafsīr Al-Mīzān,* Vol.61. P.705; Rāghib Iṣfahanī, *Mufradāt Ragheb*, 392.

[480] 'Ali Ibni Abī Ṭālib, *Nahjul Balāghah*. Wisdoms. 163.

grant her success and victory against Yazīd. Her *Ṣalawāt* is not only to ask for salutation of Allah upon Muḥammad but includes the family of Muḥammad as well. In other words, she seeks God's salutation, bounties and mercies upon herself too. She aligned herself with Allah in the act of *Ṣalawāt* seeking special consideration from Him. Her *Ṣalawāt* also revealed that she is Muslim and related to the family of Muḥammad since the crowd thought she was a disbeliever taken hostage from foreign lands.

(3) In continue, Zaynab refers to the verse of Quran with great certainty by saying "*Ṣadaqa Allahu Subḥānahu,*"[481] God spoke the truth. This phrase is usually used at the end of recitation but Zaynab states it before hand. Using *Ṣadaqa Allah* to introduce this verse acknowledges Zaynab's mastery of Quran. She, afterall, was a teacher of Quranic commentray. Countinuing with her perfect conversancy of Quran she recites verse 10 of Surah al-Rūm: "In the long run evil in the extreme will be the End of those who do evil; for they rejected the Signs of Allah and held them up to ridicule."[482] There are some key words in this verse which need further explanation.

The word "'*Āqibata*"[483] indicates the restriction of the consequence (of those who ridicule the signs of Allah) to the most severe punishment. This punishment is mentioned through the word '*Sūaā*' and interpreted as a terrible condition for the one who receives the eternal fire of hell. Therefore, one who does terrible sin/evil and is heavy with the weight of sins will respond to the person who sees the signs of Allah and will not only reject it but make fun of them as well. Not only does Zaynab refer to Yazīd as one who ridiculed the signs of Allah, but she threatens him and makes him aware of the

---

[481] صدق اللهُ سبحانَه حيث يقول

[482] ثُمَّ كَانَ عَٰقِبَةَ ٱلَّذِينَ أَسَٰٓـُٔوا۟ أَن كَذَّبُوا۟ بِـَٔايَٰتِ ٱللَّهِ وَ كَانُوا۟ بِهَا يَسْتَهْزِءُونَ), Yusuf Ali translation.

[483] عَٰقِبَةَ, Ṭabāṭabāyī, *Tafsīir Al-Mīzān* considered is as the Khabar/news for the verb of Kāna.

consequences of his evil actions. Zaynab refers to the lines from the poem Yazīd recited when he said, 'Hāshim who played,' referring to Muḥammad. In other words, Yazīd was making fun of Muḥammad and his *Risalāh* that are among the signs of Allah. Also, Zaynab considers the head of Imām Al-Ḥusayn as a sign of Allah because "it could speak although separated from the body."[484] The evil acts of Yazīd included his orders to kill Al-Ḥusayn and his army, and taking his *Ahl al-Bayt* as hostages. In adition he harassed Zaynab by disrespecting the head of Al-Ḥusayn before the crowd.

Therefore, along with pointing out Yazīd's sins by addressing the verses of Quran, Zaynab mentioned the victory of good over evil. As everything seemed against Zaynab, she had faith in her victory and her brother's victory over Yazīd. The first part of Zaynab's speech revolves around one main Quranic principle known as '*Istidrāj*'[485]. The word *Istidrāj* means gradually capturing or over taking one's life, authority and power while the individual is unaware of it and, infact may think the opposite is happening. *Istidrāj* is known as the worst punishment as described in the Quran because the person who is overtaken by *Istidrāj* is lost forever.

(4) After shocking Yazīd by forcing him to ponder his destiny, Zaynab continues by describing the reasons Yazīd was one who ridicules the signs of Allah. Her appealing questions force him to realize that what he thinks he has done to Zaynab and the other hostages is different than the truth. Therefore, she says "*A Zananta*"[486] (Do you assume) to show that Yazīd's happiness is based on his own assumptions. She calls Yazīd with his first name, with no last name or honorific status when she says '*Ya Yazīd*' (O Yazīd!).

484

485 اِسْتِدراج, Luring.

486 أَ ظَنَنْتَ

This shows that Zaynab does not accept Yazīd as *Khalīfah* or anyone worthy of respects, despite of the presence of the crowd. She continued by confronting "*Haitha*"[487] (that), "*Akhazta*"[488] (you took away), "'*Alaynā*"[489] (from us), "*Aqṭār Al-Ardh*"[490] (earth's diameters, she is referring to everywhere around the earth), "*Āfāq Al-Samā*"[491] (skies horizons and outlooks). In this sentence Zaynab refered to the hardship that the Caravan of Pride encountered through their journey. Their bodies were in chains riding saddle-less camels. If they looked up toward the sky they would see the heads of their beloved ones. If they looked down to the ground their hearts ached at the sight of their beloved ones spread all around the land. Throughout their approximately two weeks, journey from Karbalā to Kūfah and then Shām they witnessed people around the Islamic land coursing Al-Ḥusayn without knowing him. Therefore, she perfectly describes their inescapable physical and emotional restrictions.

She continues, "*Fa*"[492] (and do you assume), "*Aṣbaḥ-nā*"[493] (we became), "*Nusāq*"[494] (driven), "*Kamā*"[495] (similar to), "*Tusāq*"[496] (driving of), "*Al-Usarā*"[497] (Hostages). Zaynab is referring to the manner they were chained and lined together with one rope, filed one after another. They were displayed throughout Islamic lands similar to hostages taken after victories over non-believing countries. Do you assume that "*Anna Binā*"[498] (as if for us or upon us), "*Ala Allah*"[499] (by Allah or from Allah), is

---

[487] حَبْثَ
[488] أَخَذْتَ
[489] عَلَيْنا
[490] أقطار الأرْض
[491] آفاق السَّماء
[492] *Fa* ف connects the next sentence to the previous sentence with usage of similar verb
[493] أَصْبَحْنا
[494] نُساق
[495] كما
[496] تُساق
[497] الأُسارىٰ
[498] بِنا, أَنَّ.

"*Hawānan*"[500] (humiliation), "*Wa Bika Alayhi*"[501] (and upon you from Allah), is "*Karāmah*"[502] (dignity, respect, greatness). You assume we became servile and vassal by Allah and you became dear to him due to His *Karāmah*? Do you assume having us in chain in front of this crowd will damage our dignity and background? Thus do you assume "*Anna Zālika*"[503] (this is), "*Li 'Azmi*"[504] (due to the), "*Khatrak*"[505] (your status, as a great one), "'*Indah*"[506] (before Allah)? Zaynab described the depth of Yazīd's *Istidrāj* as she provided a different approach towards her situation. The questions raised by Zaynab is to bring Yazīd to his sences.

"*Fa Shamakhta Bi-Anfik*"[507] (your nose is being held up because you're feeling proud) and "*Nazartu Fi 'Itfik*"[508] (and you look down upon us out of vanity caused by snobbery)? "*Tadhrib Aṣdarayka Farḥan*"[509] (this act refers to the peak of happiness in which the person moves his head with pleasure) and "*Tanfizu Mizūrayka Marḥan*"[510] (refers to the shaking of body similar to dancing when being drunk). Zaynab describes Yazīd's mood as "*Jazlān Masrūran*" (gleeful and extremely happy). As you see the world "*Laka Mastūsiqat*" (is organized and placed in order for and based on your satisfaction and desires), "*Wa Al-Umūr Muttasiqah*" (and your affairs, tasks and activities are going on smoothly and based on your orders). "*Wa Hina Ṣafā Laka Mulkunā wa Sulṭānunā*" (and therefore, you view yourself as our owner and our ruler)? Are you feeling happy as a

---

[499] عَلى, الله.
[500] هَواناً.
[501] عَلَيْهِ, و بِكَ.
[502] كَرامَة
[503] أنا ذٰلِكَ
[504] لِعِظَم
[505] خَطَرَك
[506] عِنده
[507] بِأنفك فَشَمَخْتَ
[508] نظرت , '*Nazartu*' looking. عِطفك في, '*Itfik*'is the pride caused by the type of clothing, status, fame, wealth or ownership.
[509] تضرب, '*Tadhrib*' moving and walking. أصدَرَيكَ '*Aṣdarayka*' head. فَرْحاً, '*Farḥan*' peak of happiness
[510] جَذلان, '*Jazlān*' gleeful. مسروراً, '*Masrūran*'

powerful Khalīfah who falsely thinks he had accomplished something? Here Zaynab's speech begins to respond to Yazīd's claim that he brought honor and pride to his father and grandfather by killing Al-Ḥusayn and taking his family as hostages.

Zaynab observed Yazīd portrayed himself as a powerful Khalīfah whose longing for revenge had come to an end as he held the head of Al-Ḥusayn on his with disrespect. He was extremely happy and honored. Therefore, as a smart investigator, she pointed out the real source of Yazīd's evil act: his and his father's jealousy towards Muḥammad's status and his *Ahl al-Bayt*'s status in society. She proved that Yazīd's jealousy, influenced by his father's, created a yearning in Yazīd to humiliate Al-Ḥusayn and his family. Zaynab deemed Yazīd's happiness as brief, revealed his true nature and calculated a greater loss than his father's. Zaynab helped Yazīd to understand how his strategies for ruining the image of Al-Ḥusayn and his family were pointless and stupid.

Therefore, she says '*Mahlan Mahlā*' (Slow down and wait)! So I make it clear for you and I falsify/alter your assumptions by revealing the truth. 'La Tatesh' (don't get drowned or misguided) due to your '*Jahlan*' (ignorance as a proud one) since you know that some assumptions "are considered as sin."[511]She concludes her speech with the verse 178 from Surah Āli 'Imrān[512] and proclaims Yazīd as *kāfir*. [513] This verse suggests 'Numlī' refers to the period of time given to proud sinners as a test, so they should not assume that it is 'Khayrun Li Anfusahum' a gift which benefits them. Nevertheless, it is the missuse of this chance given to them which adds to their sins. The verse speaks to disbelievers so by using it, Zaynab explicitly announced that Yazīd and his followers

[511] Quran 49:12.
[512]"Let not the Unbelievers think that our respite to them is good for themselves: We grant them respite that they may grow in their iniquity: But they will have a shameful punishment." (Yusuf Ali translation.)
[513] Disbeliever.

were disbelievers. She concluded her claim by reffering to Yazīd's order of enchaining the hostages in line while they were connected with one rope similar to what disbelievers used to do to their hostage at that time.

(5) At this point Zaynab's approach became historically relevant as she seeked for equal rights and justice. 'Amina Al-'Adl' (Is it out of Justice) 'Ya Ibna Ṭulaqā' (O son of freedman?) Zaynab knows her history very well referring to the time when Makkah was conqured and her grandfather Muḥammad 'freed the disbelievers.'[514]Among the freedmen were Abu Sufyan Yazīd's grandfather and Mu'āwiah Yazīd's father. Zaynab's grandfather freed Yazīd's fathers when he could have punished them as a powerful man of his time. By calling Yazīd, a son of a freedmen, Zaynab had several intentions. One is to reveal the corrupted background of Yazīd since his fathers fought against Muḥammad and planned for his death. Therefore, she revealed to the crowd the illegitimacy of the Umayyad dynasty, one created by usurpation. Meanwhile, she showed Yazīd that he owes her father's life to Zaynab's grandfather and therefore to Zaynab as Muḥammad's family member. Yet his so full of himself that he cant distinguish the difference between truth beneath the surface. Zaynab calls Yazīd a non-Muslim because he is not practicing the Sunnah[515] of Muḥammad with respect to treatment of hostages. Zaynab's tone of speech reprimanded Yazīd for being even for following worse than his father. Zaynab's oratorical expertise is evident as she bravely asserts herself. Yazīd is silenced by her skills.

---

[514] Muḥammadtold them go as you are freed now. His decision was out of his kindness of heart thus he forgave those who wanted to kill him and fought against him. Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār*, Vol. 4, 41; 'Abul Malak Ibni Hishām, *Sirah al-Nabawiah* (Egypt: Dār Al-Ṣaḥābah li Turāth, 2007), Vol. 21, 106.
[515] Tradition.

She taught chivalry and royal behaviour when she asked Yazīd if it is just 'Takhdīruka' (using a curtain as a layer to treasure preciousness) of 'Haraeroka' (your women) and 'Emaek' (your servants) from eyes of strangers while 'Saqoka'[516](driving in an opposite manner) with respect to 'Banat Rasul Allah' (daughters of Muḥammad Messenger of Allah) as you made them 'Usara' (hostages) and display them at public? Zaynab refers to herself and the other hostages as daughters of Muḥammad due to their blood relation. She is a woman who practiced perfect Hijab throughout her life time as taught by her mother. She learned from Quran 33:35, one does not have permission to enter the house of Muḥammad or his *Ahl al-Bayt* and, if for a matter of urgency, he must make his request from behind the curtains'. Thus, by referring to the noble practice of Muḥammad and her family she asked for the same courtesy, and reveals Yazīd's injustice in going against Islam teachings. Once again Zaynab is questioning Yazīd's faith.

Zaynab is pointing at Yazīd as one who has harassed the rights of Muḥammad's Ahl al-Bayt. 'Qad Hatakat Soturehen' (you desecrated the daughters of Muḥammad as you took away their covers), and 'Obdiat Wujuhahon' (revealed their faces), and 'Sohelat Aswatahon' (exposed their voices to the public). She explicitly referred to Yazīd and his people as her enemy where she says 'Taḥdū Bihinna Al-'Ada' (as hostages taken by their enemy) 'Men Balad ela Balad' (from Karbalā to Kūfah and then Shām). They became the 'Yastashrefhenna' (source of pleasure for the eyes which seeks sinfull pleasure) for the 'Ahl Al-Manāhel' (for the people next to the mountains) and 'Al-M'āqil' (the people next to the falling waters). At this part she is referring to the stops they had throughout their journey and the eyes who would take a pick out of pleasure. 'Yatasaffaho Wujohahun Al-

[516] Sa'īd Al-Khūrī Shertuni, *Aqrab Mawārid fi Faṣḥ Al-'Arabyyat wa Al-Shawāhid* (Maṭba'ah Mursilī Al-Yas'awyyat, 1893).

Qarib wa Al-Baq'id' (browsing their faces from near and far) among them 'Al-Dani wa Al-Sharif' (unethical/wicked and honorable and virtues). This happened while 'Lais Ma'ahun Men Hamatehenn Hammi wa la men Rejalehen Walī' (there wasn't any alive support from their supporters and no alive men as their caretaker). As the Khaīfah of the Islamic lands Yazīd not only discriminate women rights from Islamic perspective rather he disrespected the family of the founder of Islam. Zaynab described the details of painful moments that the Caravan of Pride suffered as women of rituals and practice. Her criticizes were based on Islamic law and her reasonings were logical.

(6) Zaynab reminded Yazīd of another historical event in which his grandmother brought shame to her own tribe. This was due to the hatred in her heart after the battle of Badr.[517] 'Kaif Turtaja Muraqebato' (How can one expect fear of Allah from) 'Ibni Man lafaza fawohu Akbad Al-Azkia' (the son of a [woman] who put the Liver of pure one's) in her mouth. It was in battle of Uhud[518] where Hind ripped off Hamza's[519] chest and took out his liver and put it in her mouth. As she bit and consumed the liver her next generations Mu'āwiah and Yazīd also grew to be haters of Muḥammad and his family. Thus Zaynab mentioned 'Nabeta Lahmahu Men Dema Al-Shuhada' (grow his flesh from the blood of Martyrs). She wonders that 'Kaifa Yustabteu Fi Boghdhena' (why he doesn't hurry in hatred) of the Ahl al-Baytas your 'Man nazar Elaina' (looking at us) with 'Bi Shanaf' (the sight full of dislike and distasted while positioning self in a higher rank as the one who is being disliked) and 'Al-Shanaan' (extreme aversion out of injustice) and 'Al-Ehan' (malice and malevolence) and 'Adhghan' (hatred from depth of heart which

[517] Hind's enmity with Hamza was rooted in the fact that she lost her father, uncle, brother and son during the war due to the bravery of Hamza who fought against them.
[518] This battle took place 3 A.H between Muḥammadwho migrated to Medina and Abu Sufyan grandfather of Yazid who was the leader of people of Makah.
[519] Hamzah is the uncle of Muḥammad.

leads to shrewdness, betrayal and deception). Zaynab used a list of various vocabularies to point at hatred of Yazīd towards herself and Ahlul Byat. Each of these Arabic words implies different layers of Yazīds hatred and enmity towards Ahl al-Bayt. With her perfect usage of vocabulary Zaynab shows how Yazīd's hatred is deep cruel feeling planted in his heart by his ancestors. His environment was filled with people who were constantly planning for assassination of Muḥammad and his family or ways to betray him. As Zaynab didn't expect much from such person she tried to help him see the danger his exposed too.

(7) Then she said to Yazīd who is 'Ghair Mutathim' (as one who did not repent or feels guilty) that 'La Musta'zim' (don't show off and don't be proud of yourself). Don't be gleeful with 'La-ahillū' (the shine on your face which is due to the happiness) and sparks in your eyes from joy. O Yazīd! Don't cripple as your walking heedlessly and thrilled. Zaynab referd to the ignorance of Yazīd while he claimed honor without knowing the depth of his crime. His situation is similar to one who is drunk and in danger yet he is thrilled for encountering horrible pains!

(8) 'Munḥanian 'alā Thanāyā' (the four in shape and nicely ordered front teeth) of Al-Ḥusayn who is 'Sayyeda Shabāb Ahli Al-Jannah' (the master of the youth of heaven) whom Muḥammad given him kisses thousands times as he was a kid you 'Tankatha' (lay down curly) your 'Bemakhṣeratika' (metal cane). Why don't you say it? That you do this 'Nakata Qarḥata' (You do this to boil our emotions and make us cry to hurt us deep inside). Hearing this Yazīd hit[520] the teeth again and daughters and wife of Al-Ḥusayn

[520] Sulaiman Ibni Aḥmad Al-Ṭabarānī, *Mu'jam Al-Kabīr* (Maktabah Ibni Taymyyat, 2008), Vol. 3, 109.

cried out loud and they called for help from their aunt. As Zaynab scratches[521] her face she says 'Istaṣalat'[522] (you uprooted) the family of Muḥammad from 'Al-Shafathu' (its origin). In this part she is referring to her dream as she saw in early ages of life. In this tree Muḥammad represented the main branch and the tree was called the tree of prophet hood and other branches were 'Ali, Fāṭimah, Al-Ḥasan were all killed. Thus Al-Ḥusayn remained as the last member of this family and Ahl al-Bayt who were clearly mentioned in Quran in verse of Taṭhīr[523]. Therefore, by Shahādah of Al-Ḥusayn the tree was uprooted as no other member of Ahl al-Bayt was actually alive. By 'Irāqatik' (wasting his blood) by taking the life of 'Zorriāt' (progeny) of Muḥammad may the peace of Allah be upon him and his family. Al-Ḥusayn was 'Nujūm Al-Ardh min Al-i-Muḥammad' (like the star for earth among the offspring of Muḥammad). In this sentence Zaynab is describing the role of Al-Ḥusayn as the final guider from the Ahl al-Baytwho his task was like the tasks of stars. As stars guide and show the path to the people of earth Al-Ḥusayn would guide people in the same manner.

(9)Zaynab refers to another part of the poem said by Yazīd as he referred to his fathers as martyrs of Badr. She says 'Tahtafo Bi-Ashyakhek' (you make a claim about your fathers?) You think your calling upon them and praising them? 'Falatarodanna' (you wish) and 'Shikan' (you are hasty and quick regarding) 'Maredohom' (their matter of martyrdom). Yet you would 'Tawaddanna' (wish to be born with flow or never been born) as 'shollat' (disabled with one part or not being abale to do one specific task with

---

[521] Laṭmah: scratching a face is a custom of Arabian women who were burden by loss of their beloved one as they mourn they would scratch their faces.
[522]Ibrāhīm Mahṭafī, Aḥmad Ḥasan Al-Ziyat, Ḥāmid 'Abdu Al-Qādir, Muḥammad 'Ali Najjār, *Mu'jam Al-Waṣīṭ,* (Eqypt: Majma'u Lughatu Al'Arabyyah, 2004).
[523] "….Verily, Allah has decreed to remove fault from you, O' Ahl al-Bayt, and sanctify you in a perfect way ." (Quran 33:33).

that part) and ‘Bokmat’ (mute) so you would not claim what you just said and you your hand would not commit a sin. Zaynab is witnessing how Yazīd is beating the teeth of her beloved brother Al-Ḥusayn . As his head was cut while his lips were thirsty she wonders what else can be done to her Al-Ḥusayn . What can Zaynab do at such situation as she is in chain before a drunk and thrilled man who is celebrating Al-Ḥusayn ’s death? Thus she sharpens her words and aims Yazīd’s heart not to take revenge but to shakes away the layers of ignorance from his heart. She remains patient and instead of coursing or disrespecting Yazīd with a great self-control she prays to Allah. While being under pressure and her life is being threatened she not only defends herself but she defeats her enemy. She learned from Muḥammadthat Dua (prayers) is the the best weapon[524] to be used by faithful one’s as means for defeating enemy. Therefore, she teaches a great lesson not only to Yazīd but to humanity. That if Al-Ḥusayn shed his blood and became Shahid I will use my words through Dua and become Shahid. As Shuhada are eternal Zaynab’s words that remained eternal altered her status to a status of Shahid.

At this part of her speech she bravely put her life in danger while asking Allah to be on her side and makes a deep Dua. ‘Allahumma’ (O Allah) the exclusive term used by prophets to make their prayers. To revealed the truth of the whole situation Zaynab says ‘Khuz Be-Haqqena’ (restore our taken rights) and ‘wanTaqem Min Zalamna’ (avenge on our behalf from the cruel one’s towards us and dealt us with injustice) and ‘Wa-Hlol Ghadhabak’ (send down your anger) upon the one who ‘Safaka Demauna’ (she our blood) and killed our ‘Hamatuna’ (supporters and protectors). The word Haq (right) imply a deep meaning in Arabic. As Zaynab mentions the right she is seeking justice

[524] Koleinī, *Uṣūl Al-Kafī*. Ch.Dua

from Allah's court. She is asking Allah as a witness of the whole event to be her witness and her judge at the same time. She asks for her right and for the punishment of those who took away her right.

(11) While ago Yazīd was slashing Al-Ḥusayn 's teeth to show Zaynab and the hostages that they have no one to protect them as the head of their supporter is mute. Yet Zaynab turned the table in her favor by showing Yazīd that Allah is on her side. Now Zaynab's tune changes as God given strength make her more frank and daring in her words. So she says 'Fa Wallah' (By Allah who is my witness) 'wa ma Fariat ella Jeldak' ([what you did is nothing but that] you ripped[525] and tear up[526] your own skin) 'wa ma Jazarta ella Lahmak' (and you have cut[527] your own flesh). Surely 'Ltarudanna ' (you will return to) the messenger of Allah may the peace of Allah be upon him and his progeny as 'bema Tahmelaka' (due to the weight in which you carry) from the 'Sefaka Dema Zorriatah' (shedding the blood of his progeny) and from 'wanTahakat min Hormatehi' (you dishonored him by dishonoring) his ''Etratehi' (Ahl al-Bayt) and his 'Lohmatehi' (his related one's due to their flesh[528]) while taking us as a hostages. Zaynab knows that the court of Allah is not only being held in this world yet the great Day of Judgment is ahead. Therefore, she refers to the meeting of Yazīd with Muḥammadin such a day. Where 'Haithu Yajm'ao Allah Ta'ala' (Allah will gather them all together) the separated head will be attached to its body. The bodies which were beheaded and separated on the land of Karbalā will be all gather together before Muḥammad. 'Wailam Behi Sha'thahum' (there won't be any separation among them as they will be united on

[525] *Mu'jam Al-Wasit.*
[526] 'Abdul Raḥmān Khalīl Ibni Aḥmad Al-Farāīdī, *Ketab Al-'Ain* (2008).
[527] *Mu'jam Al-Wasit.*
[528] *Ibid.*

the same page). ‘Yakhozo Haqohum’ (their rights will be restored as their avenges will be taken by God from the guilty ones).

After her logical debate she backs up her words with the verse of Quran 3:169.[529]Once again she emphasize that Al-Ḥusayn was on the right path as one who became Shahid on the way of Allah against the Yazīd who is walking on the path of Evil. In response to Yazīd’s proudness Zaynab is showing her own reasons for being proud as the sister and mother of martyrs. She does not show off rather she is trying to humble down Yazīd from the peak of his false proudness which has source in his ignorance. To remove Yazīd’s ignorance she is showing Yazīd that his happiness is temporally as he will die while Al-Ḥusayn as the prince of martyrs will remain alive and eternal before God and before humanity.

(12)‘Hasbeka Bi Allah Hakeman’ (God will be your judge) and Muḥammadpeace be upon him and his family will be your ‘Khaseeman’ ..And soon he (Mu‘āwiah) who made it (Khilafah) ‘Sawwalaka’ (look beautiful for you) and ‘Makannaka’ (put you in power, gave you power) over the ‘Reqab’ (neck) of Muslims will know ‘Bes Lelzalemin Badala’[530](what an Evil exchange for the cruel one’s). What a ‘Sharro Makanan’[531] (destiny and place) and ‘Adhallo Sabila’[532] (extremely lost from the right path). As her words are constantly reminding the audience of the verses of Quran she blames Mu‘āwiah for appointing his son as the Khalīfah upon Muslims. She

---

[529] Think not of those who are killed in the Way of Allah as dead. Nay, they are alive, with their Lord, and they have provision.

[530] And (remember) when We said to the angels; “Prostrate to Adam.” So they prostrated except Iblis (Satan). He was one of the jinns; he disobeyed the Command of his Lord. Will you then take him (Iblis) and his offspring as protectors and helpers rather than Me while they are enemies to you? What an evil is the exchange for the Zalimun (polytheists, and wrong-doers, etc).Holy Quran. 18:50

[531]“And those who shall be driven upon their faces towards the Hell, their destination is worst and worstlymisguided from the path.” Holy Quran. 25:34.

[532] “And whoever is blind in this world (i.e., does not see Allah's Signs and believes not in Him), will be blind in the Hereafter, and more astray from the Path.” (Holy Quran. 17:72)

introduces Mu'āwiah as one who disobeyed Allah similar to Satan and thus turned into his followers. This exchange of Khilafah between father and son is the Evil act and a sign of their Zulm (cruelty).

(13)She is not disrespecting her at this point she is revealing his true status and real face that put him in place of humiliation. As truth hurts Yazīd eventually start to realize how he is in danger while his beloved wife ran towards him to blame him from behind the curtains.

Returning to Medina:

As Zaynab's speech finished Yazīd has no choice but to grant Zaynab's three requests and as a result the Cravan of Pride was on their way back to Medina. Zaynab not only won over the Khalīfah of time by restoring justice and preserving the right of her family she also practiced an important act called as recitation of lamentations. This act which is accompanied "with tears and weeping/scratching the face"[533] is due to recitation of Maqtal. Zaynab as the only witness of scene of Maqtal and the whole battle of Karbalā narrated this saga in every stage of her journey from Karbalā to Kūfah and Shām. She spread the truth about the details of battle along the way and enlightened the women of Yazīd's palace and other people about the truth. As a result they held the session of *Majlis*[534] to commemorate the innocence of Al-Ḥusayn and his seventy-tow brave companions. The first session was for three days and women of Shām participated in this Al-Ḥusayn's 'Azā and mourning. As Al-Ḥusayn sacrificed his life to put an end to

[533] Muūhammad Jarīr Ṭabarī, *Tārikh Al-Rasūl wa Al-Mulūk* (Trans. I.K.A. Howard. Vol. XIX. New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 174.
[534] Gathering.

corruption of Khalīfah and his wrongs deed, Zaynab made his message universal and eternal.

Zaynab established a paradigm of Kamāl while performing her *Risālah* showing the society of time and later generations the importance of defending truth, values of one's belief and having strong ties to the Imām of time. As Al-Ḥusayns fights for three days and lay down his life for the sake of Allah Zaynab carries the similar role for eternity. Her strong effects of *Majālis* is witnessed from the time that Ibni S'ad tears falls on his cheeks and continues until Yazīd's beloved wife blames Yazīd for his ugly actions. Later on it caused the dissidence of Umayyad Dynasty. Although, she remained as the only witness of the complete version of Saga her narrations in *Majālis* would take the audience in to the battle field and would cause them emotional alternations.

Majālis are the embodiment of Zaynab acting based on Al-Ḥusayn's will as he asked her to not cry aftermath. He told Zaynab that "O! Dear Sister there is plenty of time ahead for mourning and sorrow."[535]Thus, Zynab remained strong with a hope to perform his brother's will. Later on, she not only cried extremely but she caused extreme mourning and cries for her audience of Maqtal. It is through Zaynab's tradition that Al-Ḥusayn's and his message became universal and left the boundaries of Karbalā And traveled through time and space. Zaynab's journey towards Kamāl reveals how her voice gained spiritual powers to act as sharp blade. Her strength gained through her night prayers was a reward given to her by her mother which accompanied her at the night of 'Ashūrā and equipped her for future struggles.

[535] Tabari, *Tarikh Tabarī Vol. 6. 76.*

On the way to Medina Caravan of Pride passed by Karbalā and Zaynab finally could shed tears of sorrow for her Imām and her beloved brother along with her two sons. If not for the sake of Zayn Al-'Abedin she would remained in the desert till her death. She recited her Maqtal in Karbalā and reminded everyone of bitter memories of past which shaped their presence. This narration echoed throughout centuries and when men and women listen to the sorrowful voice of Maqtal they imagine their self-present and "wish to be to accompany their Imām."[536] As the echo of Karbalā remains alive Zaynab's journey towards her perfection manifest its style upon humanity. Thus, one who shed tears for Al-Ḥusayn wonders how her sister bore the heavy weight of this *Risālah*. If a non-*Infalible* woman, Zaynab could attain such a perfection to carry the will of her Imām therefore, every man and woman can carry their *Risālah* with respect to God, Imām of time, society and inner self.

Zaynab's Death and Uncertain Narrations about Her Shrine's locations

As Zaynab returned to Medina she visited the grave of her grandfather to convey her Salutation and report her journey. She returned to the center of her journey when she started at age three. Sharing all with her grandfather she continued her Majalis in Medina every day. People of society "were filled with anger and mistrust"[537] and several groups revolted after Karbalā including Qyiam of Mukhtār. Thus Zaynab was forced to leave the city. Some narrations indicates her arrival to Shām along with Zayn Al-'Abedīn and "later on was fataly struck with Yazīd's gardener's spade."[538] Another narration asserts that Zaynab was "exiled to Egypt alone where she died in Cairo, although that may be

---

[536] Mahmoud Ayyūb, *Redemptive Sufferings in Islam: A Study of the Devotional Aspects of 'Āshūrāin twelve Shi'ism* (Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1978) , 148.
[537] Sayed Muhsin Naqwī, The tragedy of Karbala (Princtone: Mohsen Memorial Foundation, 1992) 71.
[538] Badr Shahīn, Lady Zaynab (Peace be Upon Her) (Qum: Iran: Ansariyan Brothers Publications, 2006), 220-221.

Ummu Al-Kuthūm but Egyptian locals affirm that it is the granddaughter of the Prophet, where visiting her tomb is a popular tradition among Sunni Muslims."[539]

[539] Refer to *Pure and Powerful* by Nadia Abu Al-Zahra and A *Border Passage* by Leila Ahmed for accounts of Egyptian Muslim women's piety.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Every decade of Zaynab's life was subject to tragedy and the successive losses of the members of her family. Since her story tells of her perseverance through all sorts of tests, hardships, losses, and tragedies, she is called the *Ummul maṣāib*, the mother of all miseries. Yet, she remained patient and productive in her advancement towards perfection. As a woman, no one expected her to remain calm and strong, but she did. She bravely defended her Imām and his message in the best way. Zaynab understood, saw, and wept at the proper time, not tears of sadness, but tears of joy. She was a woman who gave a speeches in defense of her family in a voice similar to her father. She not only supported the revolution that her brother started, she also followed her mother's example and supported the *Walīs* and Imāms of her time. Her role models trained her well, and the three speeches and two debates that are evidence of how well-educated, knowledgeable, and strong she was. After Al-Ḥusayn, she remained the protector of the next Imām while eternalizing the message of the previous Imām by spreading the true version of the battle of Karbalā. The teachings of Islam remained alive through her as the *Nāib* of Al-Ḥusayn, and were transmitted to the next generations via the revolution of Karbalā and Zaynab's bravery and enlightening behavior, according to the traditions.

This image of a revolutionary Muslim woman has remained important to Islam throughout the centuries. Zaynab is a role model who, despite Islamic expectations of her gender, completed her mission perfectly within the boundaries of Islamic law. Even though in Islam, a woman is valued according to how well she plays the role of daughter,

wife, and mother, Zaynab's achievements go beyond the boundaries of private and family life, extending into the entire society. According to her mother, the "best of women are those who don't see men and won't let themselves be seen by men."[540] This suggests that women were meant to be members of the society, albeit not visible ones. Yet, Fāṭimah herself appeared publicly when it became necessary for her to defend the Imām of her time, and when she was the only qualified individual who could. Zaynab's story has literary parallels with that of her mother because she was also the only individual capable of defending her Imām and saving the true religion of Islam, which was believed to be corrupted at the hands of the *Khalīfah*. She publicly opposed the *Khalīfah* without fear of losing her life, while at the same time was in an inferior position as a prisoner of war. She had a political role as a deputy of the *Khalīfatu Allah*, but she also practiced modesty and defended her values as a woman. She sought justice and the restoration of her rights as a woman and the restoration of the authority of the *Ahl al-Bayt* as the rightful rulers. This noble task was assigned to only a handful of women. Zaynab's speech influenced the people of her time and future generations who gained inspiration from her words. Her experiences became a metaphor for the challenges on the road to perfection.

Despite historical evidences that proves Zaynab is the only one who had complete knowledge of the events of Karbalā and thus, she must be the main source in the chain of Hadith, we interestingly do not see any indication of her most important speech in some of the famous historical texts such as *Tarikh Al-Ṭabarī*. Her actual status as *Walīat-u-Allah* is mentioned by the fourth Imām but never becomes a course of study for later scholars. Although history has few indications of her private life, knowledge of a socio-

---

540

historical context may be used to understand how she advanced towards her perfection. Her life after the battle of Karbalā is also not mentioned in early sources in detail. There are scattered reports about her role during the route between Kūfah to Shām. An understanding of Zaynab's role during Karbalā and its aftermath may be obtained through the *aḥadīth* of later Imāms regarding her role. Thus, knowing Zaynab requires a an intense study and analysis of the history of Islam from the time of Muḥammad until the fourth Imām of the Shī'ah.

This thesis, therefore, intended to portray Zaynab's journey towards perfection as a woman of *non-Infallible* status who became *Walīatu Allah* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. In addition to her perfection in her important role of completing the *Ahl al-Bayt's* task, she became the ultimate manifestation of perfection on the last page of *Ahl al-Bayt's* book of perfection. Thus, my goal in studying Zaynab as one who has similar attributes of different Prophets, *Walīu Allah*s and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmils,* was to diagram a route for possible alterations for an individual throughout their life. These changes, as Zaynab's life suggests, can be mentored with proper education, and ultimately lead towards an individual's perfection within the limits of their capabilities. As suggested by all religions this achievement is subsequent to fulfilling God's purpose.

Although Zaynab's outstanding attributes include her among *Awliā*s and role models, her character never the less has a special quality, which makes her unique with respect to those who look up to her. Her character causes swift emotional reaction and overwhelming feelings for anyone who comes to know her life. Any chapter from Zaynab's life story strikes not only the mind, but more importantly, the heart. Emotional attachments to role models in Islam occurs through obtaining their *ma'rifah* Zaynab

remains as the only early Muslim figure whose *ma'rifah*, is obtained after emotional attachments of individuals with her life. In her case, knowing one story about any stage of her life is enough to initiate affection toward and an urge for further study. Her metaphoric example is like the strong and pleasant fragrance of a rose sensed from behind layers of walls. While not apparent, its evidence is manifested through reflection observed through that sense. Similarly, Zaynab's character carries such a strong trace, explored through centurys, it causes immediate admiration, reflecting her attributes.

All scholars who studied Zaynab's life certify being so influenced by character, they became her devotees. For example, Bintu Al-Shaṭi in her introduction mentions that her strong emotions and love for Zaynab was the main reason for writing the book of *Zaynab The Heroine of Karbalā.*[541] Thus, for scholars her *ma'rifah* rewards *Ahl al-Bayt'*s *ma'rifah* because she is the only figure who was influenced by five infallibles. As her name suggests, Zaynab is known as the beauty of her father, which highlights the question regarding her education provided by her family. Scholars often ask questions about the beauty of 'Ali's attributes for whom Zaynab herself is a pure manifestation. Zayn (beauty) is meant to connote a kind of perfection; Zaynab became an exceptional entity whose perfection became an additional beauty to her father. Thus, she fulfilled the meaning of her name by becoming the beauty of a Perfect Man and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Zaynab remains a mirror reflecting her parents' attributes and beauty - especially her father's - but her journey towards Kamāl reflects the light of God's attributes within her as *Waliāu Allah* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Therefore, as scholars viewed Zaynab, she become a role model whose story, voice and journey of Kamāl remained immortal.

---

[541] Introduction page 5 *Heroine of karbalā*.

One of the reasons, described by Qeysarī, refers to her as one of the only perfect role models among early figures of Islam who is not considered infallible.[542]Throughout her lifetime she was known as one who constantly unified values and beauty even in the painful moments of her life. It is in the palace of the assassin of her brother, Yazīd Ibni Mu'āwiah, where Zaynab declared that before her eyes, all she sees from the martyrdom of her brother and the hardships caused during and after the event of Karbalā is pure beauty.[543] Her remarkable impact as a universal role model continues into the present by bridging the gap between Islam and other religions in the concept of perfect role models, uniting them through a common regard for the element of *Infallibility*.

Furthermore, she is considered a perfect universal role model for both genders. "As in God all opposite attributes co-exist, so in the correspondences with His attributes one discovers the same antitheses"[544] in *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil*. Similarly, Zaynab's life has a distinguished pattern that both genders can adopt because she was a successful leader possessing masculine approaches towards the struggles of life in a feminine exterior. Meanwhile, her ability to create the perfect balance in her private and social life in a moderate way is astonishing. Her private life revolved around the roles assigned to her by Islamic teachings as a daughter, wife and a mother.[545] Her social roles are known as a teacher, consulor, and messenger of truth. Creating a perfect balance between all her

---

[542] Qeisari,*Sharḥi Fuṣūṣ Al-Ḥikam*, 121.
[543] Muḥammad Baqir Majlesī, *Bihar Al-Anwar Al-Jāme'atu leddurari Al-Akhbār Al-Aemmat Al-Aṭhar*, Vol. 45, (Beirut: Dar Al-Iḥya Al-Turath,),116.
[544] Arnaldez, *Al-Insān al-Kāmil*, Online: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New ed. Vol. 3. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986. 1239-1241), Gale Virtual Reference Library, http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2686304073&v=2.1&u=temple_main&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w (accessed 3 May. 2013).
[545] Zaynab was married to 'Abdullah Ibni Ja'far. Her marriage with Abdullah was blessed with five children known as ''Ali, Awn, Abbas, Abdullah and Umm Al-Kulthum.

responsibilities and fulfilling them perfectly turned her into a suitable role model for both genders.

Never the less, Zaynab remains an outstanding candidate as proof of women's capability as a *Nāib*[546] (deputy) of an Imām. She carried the holy task of defending and preserving the true teachings of Islam. In Islam, this task is God given responsibility that is usually assigned to men, but Zaynab remains among one of the unique figures who had this social role. As she received her *risālah*[547] the history of Karbalā was formed on two pillars: the rising of Al-Ḥusayn and the rising of Zaynab."[548]It is through the event of Karbalā that Zaynab's social role manifested in a more tangible format. She acted as a warrior who never fought on a battlefield; yet her speeches in defense of her values were sharper than any blade. At fifty-three years old she traveled with her brother to oppose an unjust leader. Her brother, two sons, and all the male members of their army were killed and beheaded before her. Zaynab's words, actions, and approach after the battle presents her as the envoy of the event of Karbalā , Imām and "*Warithu Al-Anbiā*."[549] While taken hostage along with other women and children, Zaynab's approach towards these hardships is not like an ordinary woman. She remains brave, strong and acts as an individual whose ultimate goal is set to satisfy God.

The practical influence of a role model is apparent through the rate of successful followers and their achievement of Kamāl. Lay people approach Zaynab in the same manner they approch. By listening to the events of her life, they open up to her and

---

[546] Zaynab was considered as Naib Al-Khaṣṣah (Special deputy) for Imām Al-Ḥusayn before his Martydom and people would refer to her for the religious rules regarding Ḥalal and Ḥaram. Abu Jaʿafar Muḥammad Ibni ʿAli Ibni Babawaih Al-Qumi, *Amali* (Tehran: Kitab Forooshi Islami, 1976).
[547] Responsibility.
[548]Muhjubah, 15:7 (1996): 29.
[549]Al-Ḥafedh Rajab Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Rajab Al-Barsi Al-Ḥilli, *Mashareq Al-Anwar Al-Yaqeen* (Lahor: Welayat Misson Publishor), 51, http://www.scribd.com/doc/62601602/Mashariq-Al-Anwar-Al-Yaqeen-Urdu

follow in her footprints. She is considered as role model by both genders. Her remembrance gives strength to deal with hardships, and patience and trust in critical moments of life. In many Islamic countries, such as Iran, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, Muslims - including men and women - refer to her as their role model who gives them hope and inspires them to carry on an elite role in life. While in Islam, she is considered an embodiment of patience, strength, and bravery. Scholars refer to her as *Mujtahid*, *Nāib* Al-Ḥusayn's, *Warith Al-Anbiā*. This thesis provides evidence of her achievement to the status of *Waliāu Allah* and *Al-Insān Al-Kāmil.*

Finally, for Non-Muslims Zaynab provides a pattern of leadership.She was a woman who led a group of thirty-seven women and children hostages and took care of their needs. She provides examples for making speeches to lay people, scholars and the powerful. This skill reflects the importance of word usage, knowing the background of the audience and having scriptural knowledge. She also, it provides the reader with techniques of making influential and effective speeches which can be used by scholars, instructors and politicians. If Zaynab's journey is approached by a physiological perspective, it reveals the importance of her personal training. She remained strong and positive in the face of hardships. Zaynab did not have a break from the abuse. She was constantly the subject of blame and ridicule, physical and mental abuse by her captures and people in the society who did not know her worth. As one who lost two children and a dear brother, Zaynab not only controlled her pain and sorrow under such huge amounts of stress she sucessfully debated, defended her values and saved the life of her Imām. Zaynab's personal spiritual training highlights her capacity as one of the important results for deep study of her life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abi Ṭalib, ‘Ali Ibni. *Ghural Al-Ḥikam wa Duraru Al-Kalim*: Majmū‘ah min Kalimāt wa Ḥikam Al-Imām ‘Ali. Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-A‘lamī, 1987.

Abī Ṭalib, ‘Ali Ibni. *Nahju Al-Balagheh*. New York: Tarikh Tarsil Quran, 1996.

Abil-Ḥadīd Madinī, Abū Ḥamid ‘Izz Al-Dīn Ibni Hibatu Allah Ibn Muḥammad Ibni Muḥammad Ibni. Sharḥ Nahj Al-Balaghah. Beirut, Lebanon: Dar Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmyyah, 9, 242.1998.

Abdul Raḥmān Bint Al-Shaṭī , Āishah Muḥammad ‘Ali ‘. *Sayyed Zaynab ‘Aqīlah Banīi Hāshim (A.S)/Baṭlatu al-Karbalā*. Cairo:Dar Al-Hilal, 1952.

Ahmad Ibni Abi Ṭahir, Abilfaḍl. *Balāghāt Al-Nisā*. Cairo: Nafaqah Shariha, 1908. http://www.waqfeya.com/book.php?bid=7639.

Amuli, Sayed Ḥeidar. *Jame’u Al-Asrār wa Manba‘u Al-Anwar*. Tehran: Moasesseh ‘Elmi Farhangi, 1368.

Al-‘Āmelī Al-Mashgharīi, Muḥammad Ibni Ḥasan Ibni ‘Ali Ibni Ḥusayn. *Wasael al-Sh‘iah.* Beirut: Dar Al-‘Ihya Al-Turath,1989.

Al-‘Āmilī, Muḥsin Amīn. *Lawa’iju Al-Ashjān*. Egypt: Maktaba Al-Iskandaryah, 1987.

Al-Amīn Al-‘Āmilī Al-Ḥusaynī, Sayyed Moḥsin. *Ale Abi Ṭalib*. Beirut: Dar Al-Hadi, 2001.

Amīn, Muḥsin. *A’yān Al-Shī‘ah*. Beirut: Dār Al-Tā’ruf li Al-Maṭbū’āt, 1986.

Arnaldez, R.. *Al-Insān al-Kāmil*. Online: The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New ed. 3. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1986. Gale Virtual Reference Library, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CCX2686304073&v=2.1&u=temple_main&it=r&p=GVRL&sw=w>

Al-Arbali, ‘Ali Ibni ‘Iisa. *Kashf Al-Ghamah fi Ma’rafah Al-Aimmah*. Beirut: Dar Al-Ketab Al-Islami, 1980.

Asgarī,.Murtiḍā. *‘Ma’āalim Al-Madrisatain*. Qum: Intisharāt ‘Allamih ‘Asgarī, 2009.

Al-‘Athqalānī, Ibni Ḥajar. *Al-Iṣabāh fi Ma’rifat Al-Ṣaḥābat*. Beirut, Dār Al-Jīl, 1992.

Athīr, Izz Al-Dīn Abi Al-Ḥasan Al-Jazarī Al-Mūṣalī Ibni. *Nahayat Al-Lughah*. Iran: Luqatu Al-‘Arabiah, 1852.

Athīr, Izz Al-Dīn Abi Al-Ḥasan Al-Jazarī Al-Mūṣalī Ibni. *Asad Al-Ghābbah fi M’arifat Al-Ṣahabat*. Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmyyah, 2009.

Athqalānī Kan'ānī, Aḥmad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Ḥajar. *Fataḥu Al- Bārī*. Beirut: Dār Al-Ma'rifah, 2000.

Al-Azadī Al-Ghāidī, Lūṭ Ibni Yaḥyā Ibni Sa'īd Ibni Mikhanaf Ibni Salīm Ibni. *Maqtal Abi Mikhnaf*. Qum: Muasseseh Tahqiqat wa nashri Ma'arif Ahlu Al-Bayt, 1998.

Al-Baghdadi, Muḥammad Ibni S'ad Ibni Mani. *Ṭabaqat Al-Kubrā*. Cairo: Maktabat Al-Khanji, 2001. <http://ia700506.us.archive.org/8/items/eltabakat/tabakat.pdf>.

Badā'unī, Abdul Qādir Ibni Mulūk Shāh. *Muntakhabu Tawārīkh*. Kalkatah: Bibliotheca Indica, 1865.

Baḥrul 'Ulum, Muḥammad. *Seiri Dar Zeindegani Ḥaḍrat Zaynab*. Tehran: Ḥikmat, 1369.

Al-Bahrānī Iṣfahanī, Abdullah Nuru Allah. *Maqtal al-'Awalīm*. Qum: Madrasatu Al-Imāam Mahdī, 1983.

Al-Baṭūṭah, Muḥammad Ibni 'Abdullāh Al-Tanjī Ibni, *Rihlatu Ibni Baṭūṭah*. Beirut: Al-Maktabat Al-Asriah, 1425.

Baḥrānī, Sayyed Hāshim. *Al-Burhān fi Tafsīr Al-Quran* (Lobanon: Dar Al-Iḥya Al-Turath, 2013.

Al-Barsi Al-Ḥilli, Al-Ḥafedh Rajab Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Rajab. *Mashareq Al-Anwar Al-Yaqīn*. Lahor: Welayat Misson Publishor, 2000. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/62601602/Mashariq-Al-Anwar-Al-Yaqeen-Urdu>.

Al- Baladhurī, Aḥmad Ibni Yaḥā Ibni Jābir. *Futūhāt Al- Buldān*. Qum: Muasseseh Tahqiqat wa Nashr Ma'arif Ahl Al-Bayt (A.S), 1981.

Bayḍūn, Labīb. *Mawkab Al-Abā*. Qum: Sulaimān Zādih, 2004.

Bayḍūn, Labīb. *Masū'atu Karbalā*. Qum: Sulaimān Zādih, 2004.

Bilgrami, M. H. *The Victory of Truth: The life of Zaynab binte 'Ali*. Karachi, Pakistan: Zahra Publication, 1986.

Bayḍūn, Labīb. *Ansāb Al-E'trāh Al-Ṭahirah*. Beirut: Moassesah Al-A'alami Lelmatbo'at, 2009.

Al-Bilāwī, Maḥmūd. *Al-Sayedah Zaynab Zekruha Amm Riḍa Kahalato fi A'alām Al-Nisā*, Tehran: Nashr 'allameh, 2012. 91:2.

Al-Bilādharī, Aḥmad Ibni Yaḥā Ibni Jābir Ibni Dāwūd. *Ansāb Al-Ashrāf* . Beirut, Dār Al-Fikr, 1996.

Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad Ibni 'Uthmān Ibni Qāymāz Shamsi Al-Dīn Abū 'Abdullah. *Siyar a'lām Al-Nubala*. Egypt: Maktabah Tafiqyyah, 1987.

Al-Farid, Aḥmad Ibni Muḥammad Ibni ‘Abd Rabbah Ibni Ḥabīb Ibni Ḥadī Ibni Sām. *Al-‘Aqd Al-Farid*. Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmyyah, 1983.

Al-Farāīdī, Abdul Raḥmān Khalīl Ibni Aḥmad. *Ketab Al-‘Ain*. Beirut: Muassesah Al-A’lamyyah li Al-Maṭbū’at, 2008.

Abū Ghaḥāfih, Abūbark. Ed. Muḥammad Taqī Lesan Al-Mulk Sepehr, *Nasekh Al-ttawarikh*. Tehran:Intesharat Asaṭīr , 2005.

Qulpāiganī, Qāḍī Zāhidī. *Shiftegan Haḍrat Mahdi*. Qum: Nashr Ḥādhiq, 2004.

Al-Ḥajjaj, Muslim. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* Ibni. The Oxford Dictionary of Islam, Edited by John L.Esposito, Oxford Islamic studies online, Number 5955, <http://www.oxfordislamocstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2057>.

Ḥāirī, Muḥammad Mahdī. *Mā’lī Al-Sebṭayn*. Beirut: Muassasah Al-Balāgh, 2011.

Al-Hāshimī, Abdulmun’em. *Al-Khiṣāl*. Beirut: Dar wa Maktabah Al-Hilāl, 17.

Al-Hashimī, ‘Ai Ibni Ḥusayn, *‘Aqilatu Banī Hāshim*, Qum: Nashri ‘Allameh 1999.

Hamāwīi, Yāqūt. *Mu’jam Al-Buldān*. Lāhūr: Jāmi’ah Ummu Al-Qurā, 1997.

Ḥanbal, Aḥmad Ibni. *Musnad Aḥmad* . Lahūr: Maktabah Rḥmanyyah, 1837.

Al- Hilali, Sulaim Ibni Qays. *Asrar Ali Muḥammad*. Chicago: Open School, 1998. <http://www.scribd.com/doc/73073275/Kitab-e-Sulaym-ibn-Qays-al-Hilali>

Ibni Hishām, Abul Malak. *Sirah al-Nabawiah*. Egypt: Dār Al-Ṣaḥābah li Turāth, 2007.

Ḥasan zadeh Amoli Ṭabari, Ḥasan. *Insān-i-Kāmil dar Nahjul Balāgheh*. Tehran: Qiām Publication, 1368.

Ḥusaynī Lailābī, Ismā’il. *Ghamnameye Āli Muḥammad*. Qum: Nasīm Kawthar, 2005.

Hyder, Sayed Akhbar. “Sayyedeh Zaynab: The Conqueror of Damuscus and Beyond” *Women of Kabala: Women of Karbalā: Ritual Performance and Symbolic Discourse in Modern Shi’I Islam*, Ed. Kamran Scot Aghaie. Austin:University of Texas Press, 2005. 161-181.

Iṣfahanī, Abul Faraj. *Maqātel Al-Ṭalibīn*. Online: Al-Mīlanī Foundation, 2011. <http://www.al-hakawati.net/arabic/civilizations/109.pdf>.

Al-Isfareini, Abū Isḥāq. *Nur Al-‘Ain fi Mashhad Al-Al-Ḥusayn*. Tunis: Maṭb’ah Al-Nār, 1982.

Ibrāhīm Maḥṭafī, Aḥmad Ḥasan Al-Ziyat, Ḥāmid ‘Abdu Al-Qādir, Muḥammad ‘Ali Najjār, *Mu’jam Al-Waṣīṭ*. Egypt: Majma’u Lughatu Al’Arabyyah, 2004.

Jazairī, Nūr Al-Dīn. *Khaṣāiṣu Al-Zaynabieh*. Najaf: 2011.

Al-Jili, AbdulKarim. *Al-Insan Al-Kamil fi Ma’refat Al-Awael wa Al-Awakher*. Beirut, Lebanon: Dal Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmyyah, 2007.

Al-Juzī Al-Montaẓam, ‘abdul Al-Raḥmān Ibni ‘Ali Ibni Muḥammad Ibni. *Al-Muntaẓam*. Dar Al-Kutob Al-E’lmiah, 2001. 5, 69.

Al-Juzī, Sebtbni Ibni. *Tadhkeratu Al-Khawwaṣ*. Beirut: Moassasah Ahl Al-Bayt, 1965.

Al-Juzī Ibni. *Tadhkeratu Al-Khawwāṣ*. Beirut: Dar Al-‘Ulum li Tabā’ata wa Nashr, 2004.

Jom’ah, Aḥmid Khalīl. *Nesa Ahl Al-Bayt*. Damuscus, Beirut: Al-Yamamah Letaba’ah wa Al-Nashr wa Al-Tawzi’, 1996.

Kabir, Kausar and Kabir, Inamul. *Biographical dictionary of Prominent Muslim Ladies*. New Delhi: Light of Life Publishers, 1982.

Kathir, Ismā’il Ibni ‘Umar Ibn. *Tafsīr Ibn Kathir*. Bulaq edition, on the margin of Fath al-Bayān, ix, 115.

Al-Khawrazmī, Abū ‘Abdullah Muḥammad Ibni Mūsā. *Al-Maqtal Al-Khawrazmī*. Qum: Muassasah Anwār Al-Hudā, 2002.

Kellner, Menachem. *Maimonides on Human Perfection*. Brown Judaic Studies 202. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990.

Al-Khuḍairī Al- Suyūṭī, Abdu Al-Raḥmān Ibni Kamāl AbīBakr Ibni Muḥmmad Sābiq Al-Dīn. *Tārīkh Suyūṭī*. Egypt: Matba’t Al-S’ādah, 1952.

Koleini, Muḥammad Y‘aqūb. *Uṣūl Al-Kafi*. Ed. ‘Ali Akbar Ghaffari, Vol.1. Tehran: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islamyyah, 1363.

Al-Kūfī, Muḥammad Ibni Suleiman. *Manaqeb Amir Al-Momeneen ‘Ali Ibn-i-Abi Ṭalib*. Qum: Majma’ Ehya l-Thaqafat Al-Islameyyah, 2002.

Al-Khaseeyi, Al-Ḥusayn Ibni Hamdān. *Al-Khaseeyi* (334 A.H), Moassessah Al-Balagh

Khumeini, Rūh-u-Allah. *Sharḥ-i-Du‘a Saḥar*. Tehran: Intesharat Muasseseh Imām,1370.

Al-Khūī, Abū Al-Qāsim. *Mu’jam Al-Rijāl Al-Ḥadīth*. Iraq: SaifoAli, 2011.

Ibni Khiyār, Muḥammad Ibni Isḥāq Ibni Yasār. *Sireh Ibni Isḥāq*. Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-‘Ilmyyah, 2004.

Maḥallatī, Dhabīḥ Allah. *Riāḥīn Al-Sharī'ah*. Qum: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islami, 1970.

Al-Majdī, Najm Al-Dīn Abi Al-Ḥasan ‘Ali Ibni Muḥammad Al-‘alawī Al-‘Amrī. *Ansab Al-Ṭalibin*. Qum: Maṭba'h Sayyed u Shuhadā (A.S), 1988.

Al-Majlesī, Muḥammad Baqir. *Biḥār Al-Anwār*. Beirut: Muassessah Al-Wafa, 1982.

Al-Masū'di, ‘Ali Ibni Al-Ḥusayn. *Al-Tanbīh wa Al-Ashrāf*. Beirut: Dar wa Maktabat Al-Hilal, 2000, 274.

Al-Masūdī, ‘Ali Ibn-i- Al-Ḥusayn Ibni ‘Ali. *Maruj Al-Dhahab*. Beirut: Dar Al-Ehya Al-Turath Al-Arabi, 2000.

Al-Mamqanī, Abdullah. *Tanqiḥ Al-Maqāl fi 'Ilmi Rejāl*. Online: Maktabat Al-Islamyyah, 2003. <http://alkafeel.net/islamiclibrary/menscience/storemeaning/index.html>.

Al-Mianji, Ibrāhīm. *Ayūn Al-'Abarī*. Qum: Dar Al-Ḥadīth, 2002.

Modarres Bustān Ābādī, Muḥammad Bāqir. *Shahr Ḥusayn*. Qum: Dar Al-‘Ilm, 2001.

Monique, Bernnards. Jhon Nawas, Abdallah. *Patronate And Patronage in Early And Classic Islam*. Netherlands: Brill Publication, 2005.

Muḥammadi Ishtihardī, Muḥammad. *Ḥaḍrat Zaynab Payam resan Shahīdān Karbalā*. Tehran: Burhān, 2007.

Muḥammadī Ishtihardī, Muḥammad. *Sargozaht Jānsooz Ruqayyih*. Qum: Nashr Muṭahhar, 1997.

Muḥammadi Ishtihārdī, Muḥammad. *Furūgh Tābān Kawthar*. Tehran: Burhān, 2000.

Muḥammad Qāsim, Ḥasan. *Al-Sayyidah Zaynab wa Akhbār Al-Zaynabiāt*. Egypt: Maktabah Al-Muṣṭafā, 1934.

Muḥammad Ibni Muḥammad N'umān Mufīd, *Amālī*. Qum: Nawid Islam, 2010, 40.

Al-Mazandaranī, Abū J‘afar Muḥammad Ibni ‘Ali Ibni Shahr Āshūb Ibni Abī Al-Jaish. *Manāqib Ali Abī Ṭalib*. Online: Maktabatu Al-Shī‘ah, 1956. <http://shiaonlinelibrary.com/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8/1349_%D9%85%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%A8-%D8%A2%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%A8%D9%8A-%D8%B7%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8-%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%86-%D8%B4%D9%87%D8%B1-%D8%A2%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%A8-%D8%AC-%D9%A1>.
Muḥammadī, Ali Farīd. Shī‘ah Hagiography. United Kingdom: MIU, 2013.

Manẓūr, Muḥammad Ibni Mukarram Ibni Aḥmad Ibni. *Lisān Al-'Arab*. Beirut:Dār Lisān Al-‘Arab, 1970.

Al- Muqarram, Abdul Al-Razzaq. *Maqtal Al-Al-Ḥusayn*. Beirut, Lebanon: Khursan Foundationm 1426 A.H./2005 A.D.

Al-Muqarram, Abdul Al-Razzāq. *Maqtal Al-Ḥusayn*. Tehran: Navid Islam, 2006. Musavi Lari, Sayed Mujtaba. Translated by Hamid Algra. *God and His attributes Lessons on Islamic Doctrine*. Potomac, MD:Islamic Education Center.2005.

Musavi Zanjani, Ibrahim. *Wasilat-o-Al-Darian Fi Ansar Al-Al-Ḥusayn*. Mashhad: Sazman Kitab Khaneha Muzeha wa Asnad Astan Quds Raḍawi, 2010.

Muṭahharī, Murtiḍā. *Insān-i-Kāmil*, Ch.1. Tehran: Intisharat Ṣadra, 1373.

Muẓaffar, Abdulwāḥed. *Baṭal Al'alqamī*. Qum: Intisharat Sharif Al-Raḍi, 1992.

Al-Andilusī, Ibni Hazam. *Jumhūrāt Ansab Al-'Arab*. Beirut, Dar Al-Kutob Al-E'lmiah, 2001.

Al-Nahālī Al-Ḥalabī, Muḥammad Ibni Yūsuf. *Ṭarāzu Al-Madhhab fi Dakhīl wa Al-M'arab*. Beirut: Muassasah Al-Balāgh,1885.

Naqdi , J'afar. *Ḥayat Zaynab Al-Kubra*. Qum: Maktabat Al-Mufid, 1362.

Ibni Namā Al-Ḥillī, Najmu Al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibni Ja'far Ibni Abī Al-Baqā Hibatu Allah. *Mathir Al-Ahzan*. Najaf: Maṭb'ah Ḥaidaryyah, 1950.

Al-Nayshaburi, Abu Al-Ḥusayn 'Asakir Al-Din Muslim Ibni Al-Hallaj Ibni Muslim Ibni Kawshadh Al-Qushyar. *Sahih Muslim*:*Chapter of the virtues of companions, section of the virtues of 'Ali,* Edition Pub. in Saudi Arabia, Arabic version, v4, p1873, Tradition #36, 1980.

Al-Nishabūrī, Abū Abdullah Muḥammad Ibni 'Abdullah Al-Ḥākim. *Mustadrak Al-Ḥākim*. Online: Maktabah Majlis, 2006. <http://majles.alukah.net/showthread.php?82-%D8%AD%D9%85%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%AF%D8%B1%D9%83-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%83%D9%85-pdf-(%D8%AE%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A9-%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%AA)#.UYajJMu9KSM Vol. 3, 81-82>.

Nūrī Ṭabarsī, Ḥusay. *Mustadrak Al-Wasail wa Al-Mustanbaṭ Al-Masail*. Beirut: Muassesah Āli Bayt Iḥya Al-Turath, 2008.

Al-Qurashi, Bāqir. *The life of Abbas*. Qum: Daftar Intisharat Islami, 2002.

Al-Qurashī, Bāqir Sharīf. *Ḥayātu Al-Imām Al-Ḥusayn*. Beirut: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Islamyyah, 1988.

Al-Qurashī Al-Damishqī, Ismā'il Ibni 'Umar Ibn Kathir. *Al-Bidāya wa Al- Nihāyah.* Damishq: 'Iddah Dar Al-Nashr, 2003.

Qurt'abī, Ibni 'Abdul-Berr. *Al-Isti'āb*, Vol. 4, 410.

Qeisari, Davud. *Sharhi Fuṣūṣ Al-Ḥikam*. Tehran: Intesharat 'Ilmī Farhangī, 1994.

Qumī, Shaikh 'Abbas. *Safinatu Al-Biḥār Madinatu Al-Ḥikam wa Al-Āthār*. Iran: Dār Al-Uswatu li Al-Ṭaba'ah wa Al-Nashr, 1995.

Al-Qumī, Abbas. *Muntaha Al-Āmā fi Tarīkh Al-Anbia wa Al-Āl*. Online: Moassesah Nashr islami, 1984.< http://Imāmhussain-lib.com/arabic/book/hzbooks_list.php?pagesize=500>.

Al-Qumī, Abbās Ibni Muḥmad Riḍā. *Anwār Al-Bahiyah*. Tehran: Kitab Furūshī Islāmī, 1955.

Al-Qumī, Ja'far Ibni Qulawayh. *Kāmil Al-Ziarat*. Qum:Nashr Faqāhah, 1981.

Al-Quṭb, Muḥammad, Al-Da'waq 'Ali, 'Umar, Muḥammad. *Nesa Howl Al-Rasūl*. Beirut: Maktaabah Al-Asriah, 2004

Al-Qumi, Abu Ja'afar Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Babawaih. *Amālī* Tehran: Kitab Forooshi Islami, 1976.

Qutibah, Abdullāh Ibni Muslim Ibni. *Al-ma'āref Quṭaibah*., Egypt: Heiato Al-Mesriah Letaba'ate Al-Ketāb, 2008.

Al-Qandūzī Al-Ḥanafī, Sheik Sulaiman Ibni Ibrahim. *Yanabi'u Al-Mawadda*, Online: Haydaraya, 2011. Ch.76, <http://archive.org/details/YanaabeiMavaddah>.

Al-Qazwīnī, Muḥammad Kazim. *Fāṭimah Al-Zahrā Min Al-Mahd ila Al-Laḥad*. Beirut: Moassasal Al-Nūr li Al-Maṭbūāt, 1990.

Al-Qazwīnī, Muḥammad Kaẓim. *Zaynab A.S*. Beirut: Moassasal Al-Nūr li Al-Maṭbūāt, 1990.

Rāghib Iṣfahanī, Ḥusayn Ibni Muḥammad. *Mufradāt Ragheb*. Qum: Mussesseh Tahqiqat wa Nashri Marif Ahl Al-Bayt (A.S), 2000.

Rai, Anita. Essential Women. London: Starsighter Limited, 2005.

Al-Raḥmanī Hamadānī, Aḥmad. *Fāṭimata Al-Zahrā Bahjatu Qalb Al-Muṣṭafā*. Tehran: Dar Al-Ḥawā, 2005.

Shabiri, A'ẓam. *Simaye Zaynab dar Ayneh Tarikh*. Tehran: Nashr Hajar, 2008.

Al-Shāfe'ī, Muḥammad ibn-i-Talhah. *Al-Naseebi*. Beirut: Mosassah Al-Balagh, 1998.

Shahristānī, Muḥammad Ibni Ḥusayn Ibni Muḥsin Ibni Murtḍā Al-Ḥusaynī Hibatu Al-Dīn. *Nuḥḍatu Al-Al-Ḥusayn*. Beirut: Muassasah Al-Balāgh, 2003.

Shari'atī, Ali. *Faṭimah is Faṭimah*. Tehran: The Shari'atī Foundation, 1971.

Shertuni, Sa'īd Al-Khūrī. *Aqrab Mawārid fi Faṣḥ Al-'Arabyyat wa Al-Shawāhid*. Beirut: Maṭba'ah Mursilī Al-Yas'awyyat, 1893.

Shiblī, Ali Aḥmad. Ibnatu Al-Zahra wa Baṭlatu Al-Fada Zaynab (S.A). Cairo: Majlis Al-'Alā li Shuūn Al-Islamyyah, 2001.

Al- Ṭabari, Muḥammad Ibni Jarir. *Tarikh Al-Ṭabarī* Vol.9, The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'awiyah A.D. 680-683/A.H. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990. <http://www.alsunnahfoundation.org/Academy/Karbalā.pdf>.

Ṭabari, Muḥibb Al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibni 'Abdullah. *Ẓakhāiru Al-'Aqabī fi Manāqib Ẓawi Al-Qurbā*. Egypt: Dar Al-Kutub Al-Maṣryyah, 2010.

Ṭabarsī, Amīn Al-Islām Abū 'Ali Faḍl. *A'alām Al-Warā*. Beirut: Dar Al-M'arifah, 2013.

Ṭabarsī, Abī Al-Manṣūr Aḥmad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Abi Ṭālib. *Iḥtijāj*, Najaf: Maṭābi'Al-Nu'mān, 1966.

Ṭabāṭabāyī, Muḥammad Al-Ḥusayn. *Tafsīir Al-Mīzān*. Qum: Muassasah Al-Alamyah Maṭbū'āt, 1997.

Al-Ṭabarānī, Sulaiman Ibni Aḥmad. *Mu'jam Al-Kabīir*. Egypt:Maktabah Ibni Taymyyat, 2008.

Tabrizī, Mirza Javād. *Serato Al-Nejat fi Ajvbati Al-Isteftat*. Qum: Al-Muntakhabat, 1995.

Al-Ṭaei, Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni 'Abdullah Ibni Hatam, Tahqiq 'Uthman Yaḥya, Futuḥat Makkyyah, 3. Cairo: M'ahad Al-Derasat Al-'Ulia fi Al-Surbon, 1405.

Al-Ṭāī, Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni 'Abdullah Ibni Hatam. Known as Ibni 'Arabī *Futuh Al-Makkyiah* (translated by William C.Chittik. Ch.317.)

Al- Ṭāī, Muḥammad Ibni 'Ali Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni 'Abdullah Ibni Hatam. *Fuṣūṣ Al-Ḥikam*, 3. Beirut, Lobanon: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Arabi, 1984.

Al-Ṭawūs Al-'Alawī Al-Ḥasanī Ibni, Sayed Raḍī Al-Dīn Abū Al-Qasim 'Ali Ibni Mūsā Ibni Ja'far Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Aḥmad Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Muḥammad. *Luhūf*. Tehran: Naba, 2003.

Ṭawūs, Raḍi Al-Din Ali Ibni. *Luhūf* . Tehran: Naba, 2003. <http://www.saaj-nbi.com/Lohoof.pdf>.

Tusi, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibni Ḥasan. *Rijāl Al-Tusī*. Qum: Jami'ah Al-Mudarresīn, 1984.

Taymiyi Bakriyi Ṭabaristanī Fakhr Al-Razī, Abū 'Abdullah Ibni 'Umar Ibni Ḥusayn Ibni Ḥasan. *Al-Shajaratu Al-Mubārakahah Fi Ansāb AL-Ṭālibiyah*. Qum: Manshurat Maktabatu Al-Mar'ashī, 1988

Unterman, Alan. *The Jews: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* Portland, Oregon: Sessex Academic Press, 1999.

Al-Waseṭī, 'Ali Ibni Al-Ḥusayn. *Arba' Makhṭūtat fi Ansāb Ahli Bayt*. Damuscus: Dar Kan'ān, 1934.

Wāqedī , Abī 'Abdullah Muḥammad Ibni 'Umar. *Maghāzi Rasūl Allah*. Cairo : Nashr Kutub Al-Qadīmat, 1948.

Zubairi, Mus'ab Ibni 'Abdullāh. *Nsab Quraish*. Cairo: Darl Al-Ma'aref, 1998.

Zanjani, Ibrāhim Mūsāī. Wasīlatu Dārain fi Anṣār Al-Ḥusayn. Beirut: Muassesah Al-A'lamyyah li Al-Maṭbū'at, 1900.

APPENDIX A
TABLE OF ZAYNAB'S FAMILY TREE ACCORDING LUNAR AND GORGIAN CALENDAR

Pre-Islamic Calendar	Christian Calendar	Khadijah	Muḥammad	ʻAli	Fāṭimah	Comments
53 B.H	570	15 Years Old	Born	0	0	
28 B.H	595	40 Years Old	25 Years Old	0	0	
23 B.H	600	45 Years Old	30 Years Old	ʻAli Was Born	0	
18B.H	605	50 Years Old	35 Years Old	5 Years Old	Fāṭimah Was Born	According Ṭabari
13 B.H	610	55 Years Old	40 Years Old	10 Years Old	5 Years Old	Bethat. ʻAli Moved in with Muḥammad
8 B.H	615	60 Years Old	45 Years Old	15 Years Old	10 Years Old	Al-Kafi mentions Fāṭimah's Birth
HIJRAH Islamic Calendar	623	Khadijah Died	53 Years Old	23 Years Old	18 Years Old (Ṭabari)	8 years Old (Al-Kafi)
2 A.H	625		55 Years Old	25 Years Old	20 Years Old(1stGroup)	10 Years Old(2nd group)
3 A.H	626		56 Years Old	26 Years Old	21 Years Old	11 Years Old Her Marriage
4 A.H.	627		57 Years Old	27 Years Old	22 Years Old	Al-Ḥasan Was Born
6 A.H	629		59 Years Old	29 Years Old	24 Years Old	Al-Ḥusayn is Born
						Zaynab is Born
8 -10 A.H	631		61 Years Old	31 Years Old	26 Years Old	Ummul Al-kulthum is born

Islamic Lunar Calendar	Christian Calendar	Comments	Muḥammad	ʻAli	Fāṭimah		
10 A.H	633		63 Years Old				
11 A.H	633	28th of Safar	Prophet died	Forced to Give up Khilafah	Was injured, had a miscarriage. Died 90 days after her father's death		
					Al-Ḥasan 10 Years Old	Hussein 9 Years Old	Zaynab 5-7 Years Old
11-13 A.H	636	Abūbakr's Khalifah, died after 3 years		36 Years Old			
13-25 A.H	648	ʻOmar's Khalifah, Abu Lulu killed him		48 Years Old	21 Years Old	22Years Old	17-19 Years Old
25-35 A.H	658	ʻOthman's khalifah, was killed		58 Years Old	31 Years Old	32Years Old	32-34 Years Old
35 -40 A.H	663/661	ʻAli became Khalifah and was Murdered by Ibn-i-Muljam Al-Muradi		63 Years Old	36 Years Old	37 Years Old	32-34 Years Old

Appendix B

Zaynab's Date of Birth

Sunni's Point of View on Zaynab's Date of Birth

Most Sunni historians and genealogists did not explicitly mention Zaynab's date of birth, yet some of them believe that Zaynab was the last daughter of Fāṭimah and was born after Um- al Kulthūm. This order was mentioned in *Ṭabaqat Al-Kubrā* (230 A.H) by Ibni Sa'ad for the first time[550] and later noted by Ibni 'Abdul-Berr Qurt'abī (463 A.H) in *Esti'āb*, Ibni Athīr (630 A.H) in *Asad Al-Ghābbah*, and Ibn-i-Ḥajar Al-Asqalānī (852 A.H) in *Al-Iṣābah*. Others, include Masū'dī in *Al-Tanbīh wa Al-Ashrāf*[551], Ibni Quṭaibih (282 A.H) in *Al-Ma'ārif*[552], Ibn-i-Hazam (456 A.H) in *Jomhūrāt Ansab Al-A'rab*[553], Ibni Juzī (597 A.H) in *Al-Muntaẓam*[554],Al-Shāfe'ī (562 A.H) in *Maṭalib Al-So'ūl*[555], Sebt Ibn Al-Juzī (654 A.H) in *Tadhkeratu Al-Khawwaṣ*[556], and Ibni Abil-Ḥadid (656 A.H) in *Sharḥ Nahj Al-Balāghah*[557]. Among them, Ibni Juzī emphasized the fact that Zaynab is the third child and Um- al Kulthūm is the fourth child of 'Ali and Fāṭimah. Other scholars have not focused on this matter at all, or did not find it significant. These scholars include Ibni Sa'd in *Ṭabaqat Al-Kubrā*. In the chapter for children of 'Ali, Zaynab is mentioned as the third child, but later in the chapter of children of Fāṭimah she is indicated as the fourth child. Although the order of children is very important for early historians of Islam the confision between the order of children in the most famus family

[550] Ibni Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt Al-Kubrā*. V.6. P.19.
[551] 'Ali Ibni Al-Ḥusayn Masū'di, *Al-Tanbīh wa Al-Ashrāf* (Beirut: Dar wa Maktabat Al-Hilal, 2000), 274.
[552] 'Abdullāh Ibni Muslim Ibni Qutibah, *Al-ma'āref Quṭaibah*, (Egypt: Heiato Al-Mesriah Letaba'ate Al-Ketāb, 2008), 211.
[553] Ibni Hazam Al-Andilusī, *Jumhūrāt Ansab Al-'Arab* (Beirut, Dar Al-Kutob Al-E'lmiah, 2001),.37.
[554] Ibni Juzī, *Al-Muntaẓam* (Al-Montazam Dar Al-Kutob Al-E'lmiah, 2001). Vol. 5, 69.
[555]Al-Shafe'ī, Muḥammad Ibni Talhah Al-Naseebi. (Beirut: Mosassah Al-Balagh, 1998), 220.
[556] Sebt Ibni Al-Juzī, *Tadhkeratu Al-Khawwaṣ* (Beirut: Moassasah Ahl Al-Bayt, 1965), 288.
[557] Abū Ḥamid 'Izz Al-Dīn Ibni Hibatu Allah Ibn Muḥammad Ibni Muḥammad Ibni Abil-Ḥadīd Madinī, *SharḥNahj Al-Balaghah*, (Beirut, Lebnon: Dar Al-Kutub Al-'Ilmyyah, 1998) Vol. 9,242.

related to prophet leaves us with an important question. What would be the outcome of switching the order of their birthday?

Shī'ah's Point of View on Zaynab's Date of Birth

Many Shī'ah scholars believe that Zaynab was the third child of Fāṭimah[558]. As for 'Ali's[559] list of children, there is always an ambiguity due to the similarity of his daughters' names. This issue made it hard for historians to have an accurate list of his children. Al-'Abidlī (277 A.H), a famous genealogist of his time, provides evidence in the book of *Akhbār Al-Zaynabiāt*, that shed light on this issue. He states that Fāṭimah had two daughters named Zaynab. As for her first daughter, the name was chosen by God and Muḥammad as Zaynab. Yet for the second daughter, Fāṭimah herself chose her name 'Zaynab' while Muḥammad gave her a *Kuniyah*[560] of Um- al Kulthūm. This was due to her likeness to the Prophet's aunt.'[561] According to Al-'Abidlī, Um- al Kulthūm, is known as Zaynab *Wustā*[562], while Zaynab Sughrā[563] is the third daughter of 'Ali who married Muḥammad Ibni 'Aqīl[564]. However, Sheikh Mufīd believes that Fāṭimah's second daughter is Zaynab Al-Sughrā also known as Um- al Kulthūm and Al-Ma'sūdī considers her Um- al Kulthūm Al-Kubrā[565]. Also, Ibni Qutībah in *Al-M'ārif*, Erblī in Kashf Al-Ghammah, Ibni Abi Al-Ḥadid in Sharḥ Al-Nahju Al-Blaghah[566] knew Zaynab as Zaynab Al-Kubrā and Um- al Kulthūm as Um- al Kulthūm Al-Kubrā. Sayyed Mohsen

---

[558] Muḥammad Ibni Suleiman Al-Kūfī, *Manaqeb Amir Al-Momeneen 'Ali Ibn-i-Abi Ṭalib* (Qum: Majma' Ehya l-Thaqafat Al-Islameyyah, 2002), 683; Al-Ḥusayn Ibni Hamdān Al-Khaseeyi, (334 A.H), Moassessah Al-Balagh, 94.
[559] 'Ali was married for several times after the martyrdom of his first wife Fāṭimah.
[560] Epithet or surname was/is a popular thing among Arabians.
[561] Ibni Baṭūṭah, Muḥammad Ibni 'Abdullāh Al-Tanjī, *Rihlatu Ibni Baṭūṭah* (Beirut: Al-Maktabat Al-Asriah, 1425), V. 1, 92.
[562] Wusta means middle.
[563] Sughra means The younger.
[564] Ḥasan Muḥammad Qāsim, *Al-Sayyidah Zaynab wa Akhbār Al-Zaynabiāt* (Egypt: Maktabah Al-Muṣṭafā, 1934), 125.
[565] 'Ali Ibn-i- Al-Ḥusayn Ibni 'Ali. Maruj Al-Dhahab Masūdī, (Beirut: Dar Al-Ehya Al-Turath Al-Arabi, 2000), Vol. 3, 47.
[566] Ibid, Vol.9, 242.

Amin in *A'ayan Al-Shī'ah* and the book of *Ale Abi Ṭalib* claims that both Sheikh Mufid and Al-Mas'udi are correct that the second daughter of Fāṭimah is Zaynab Al-Sughrā and Zaynab Al-Kubrā is Um- al Kolthum Al-Kubrā. After her is Um- al Kolthum Al-Sughrā who was born from Umm-Al-Waladī[567]. Al-Zubairi in his book of *Nsab Quraish*[568] also considered Um- al Kolthum as Um- al Kolthum Al-Kubrā, which makes her the second daughter of Fāṭimah.

Most Shī'ah scholars claim that Zaynab is the first daughter of 'Ali and Fāṭimah[569]. Sheikh Mufīd in *Al-Irshād*[570] followed by Arb'alī in *Kashfu Al-Ghamah*[571] and Ṭabarsī in *A'alām Al-Warā*[572] considered her as Zaynab Al-Kubrā and Um-al Kolthūm as the Zaynab Al-Sughra. These two sisters caused some confusion as they both traveled to Makkah, Karbalā, and Kūfah with Al-Ḥusayn and they both gave a speech in Kūfah.

Evidence and Proof on the Order of Daughters in Zaynab's Family

One of the reasons for the ambiguity regarding Zaynab's date of birth is because there is no specific historical report, from neither the Shī'ah's nor the Sunni's historian's perspective. The necessity for knowing this date emerged later because of the celebration of Ahl al-Bayt's birthdays among their followers. Usually in early Islamic historical sources, this is indicated after listing parents' names and this is true for Zaynab's brothers, Al-Ḥasan and Al-Ḥusayn . Their names both were chosen by Prophet

---

[567] Ibni Qutībeh, *Al-M'ārif,* 211; Ibni Abi Al-Hadid. Muḥammad Ibni Abil-Ḥadīd Madinī, *SharḥNahj Al-Balaghah,* Vol. 9, 242; Sayyed Moḥsin Al-Amīn Al-'Āmilī Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ale Abi Ṭalib* (Beirut: Dar Al-Hadi) V. 11, 111; Labīb Bayḍūn, Ansāb Al-E'trāh Al-Ṭahirah (Beirut: Moassesah Al-A'alami Lelmatbo'at, 2009), 57.
[568] Mus'ab Ibni 'Abdullāh Zubairi, *Nsab Quraish* (Cairo: Darl Al-Ma'aref, 1998), 41.
[569] 'Ali Ibni Al-Ḥusayn Al-Waseṭī,. *Arba' Makhṭūtat fi Ansāb Ahli Bayt* (Damuscus: Dar Kan'ān, 1934), 8; Muḥammad Baqer Al-Majlesī, *Biḥār Al-Anwār* (Beirut: Muassessah Al-Wafa, 1982), Vol. 42, 74 & Vol. 43, 231-233.
[570] Amīn Al-Islām Abū 'Ali Faḍl Ṭabarsī, *A'alām Al-Warā* (Beirut, Dar Al-M'arifah, 2013), Vol. 1, 186.
[571] 'Ali Ibni 'Iisa, Al-Arbalī Al-Arbali, 'Ali Ibni 'Iisa, Kashf Al-Ghamah fi Ma'rafah Al-Aimmah, Kashf Al-Ghamah fi Ma'rafah Al-Aimmah (Beirut: Dar Al-Ketab Al-Islami, 1980), Vol .2, 66.
[572] Al-Ṭabarsī, *A'alām Al-Warā* , 210.

and these indications were reported in early historical sources for a date of birth. As for Zaynab, early sources indicated several indirect dates which become a source of ambiguity, but it is plausible that her name was also chosen by Prophet himself. This indirect narration is mentioned by Ahmad Khalil Jum'ah in *Nesa Ahl Al-Bayt* where he states; "Muḥammad called her granddaughter Zaynab in commemoration of his first daughter Zaynab."[573]This statement also proves that the first granddaughter was named after the elder daughter of the Prophet, which itself is proof on Zaynab being the Zaynab Al-Kubrā[574]. Also, even if 'Ali and Fāṭimah had chosen her name, the same rationalization applies. Furthermore, *Kubrā* was frequently used for mentioning Zaynab within the majority of Shī'ah and Sunni sources, and therefore, she is acknowledged as the first daughter, followed by Zaynab Al-Sughrā, known as Um- al Kolthum. By comparing the majority of sources above, Zaynab was named Zaynab Al-Kubrā, the third child of the family and the first daughter. Indeed, she was born seven to nine years after Hijrah and five years before the death of Muḥammad and died,[575] a year earlier than her sister Zaynab Al-Sughrā. Overall, the most accurate date of her birth is from the story in which her name was announced by Muḥammad.

---

[573] Aḥmid Khalīl Jum'ah, *Nesa Ahl Al-Bayt* (Damuscus,Beirut: Al-Yamamah Letaba'ah wa Al-Nashr wa Al-Tawzi', 1996), 629.
[574] 'Abdulmun'em Al-Hāshimī, (Beirut: Dar wa Maktabah Al-Hilāl), 17; Muḥammad Al-Quṭb, 'Ali and Al-Da'waq, Muḥammad 'Umar. *Nesa Howl Al-Rasūl* (Beirut, Maktaabah Al-Asriah, 2004), 441. 'Ali Aḥmad Shiblī, *Ibnatu Al-Zahra wa Baṭlatu Al-Fada Zaynab (S.A)* (Cairo: Majlis Al-'Alā li Shuūn Al-Islamyyah, 2001), 26; MuḥammadKazem Al-Qazwīnī, Fāṭimah Al-Zahrā Min Al-Mahd ila Al-Laḥad (Beirut: Moassasal Al-Nūr li Al-Maṭbūāt, 1990), 153.
[575] Al-Baghdadī, *Ṭabaqat Al-Kubrā*, Vol .6, .25; Ibni 'Abdul-Berr Qurt'abī *Al-Isti'āb*, Vol. 4, 410.

Appendix C

Chart of early sources used in this Thesis

Balāghāt Al-Nisā Ahmad Ibni Abi Ṭāhir, Abilfaḍl (204-280 A.H)
Ṭabaqāt Al-Kubrā by Ibni Sa'ad (230 A.H)
Akhbār Al-Zaynabiāt by Al-'Ābidlī (277 A.H)
Al-Ma'āref by Ibni Qatibah (282 A.H)
Al-Irshād by Muhammad Ibni Muhammad Ibni Nu'mān known as Sheikh Mufīd (338-413 AH)
Jomhūrat Ansāb Al-'Arāb by Ibni Hazam (456 A.H)
Esti'āb by Ibni Abdul-Berr Qurt'abi (463 A.H)
Maṭālib Al-So'oul by Muḥammad ibni Ṭalhah Al-Shāfe'ī (562 A.H)
Al-Montazam by Ibni Jozī (597 A.H)
Asada Al-Ghābbah by Ibni Athīr (630 A.H)
Tadhkerato Al-Khawaṣ by Sebt ibn-i-Al-Jozi (654 A.H)
Sharh Nahj Al-Balaghah by Ibni Abil-Ḥadid (656 A.H)
Al-Iṣabah by Ibni Ḥajar Al-'Asqalānī (852 A.H)
Al-Tanbih wa Al-Ashraf by Masū'dī
Marūj Al-Zahab by Abu Al-Al-Ḥasan 'Ali Ibni Al-Ḥusayn Ibni 'Ali Mas'ūdī
Manāqib Amir Al-Mominīn 'Ali Ibni Abī Ṭalib by Muḥammad Ibni Soleimān Al-Kūfī (300-400, 3Q)
Akhbār Al-Zaynabiāt by Muḥammad Ibni 'Aqīl
Kashf Al-Ghamah by Abul Al-Ḥasan 'Ali Ibn-i-I'sa Ibn-i- Abi Al-Fath Erblī (693 AH)
Nṣab Quraish by Muṣ'ab Ibn-i-Abdullah Al-Zubairī
A'rba' Makhṭootat fi Ansab Ahl-i-Bayt by 'Ali Ibn-i-Al-Ḥusayn Al-Waseṭi
A'alam Al-Warā by Al-Faḍl Ibni Al-Al-Ḥasan Ṭabarsī
Zaynabu Al-Kubrā by Sheikh Jafar Naqdī
Jala-o Al-U'yoon by Muḥammad Baqer Ibni Muhammad Taqī Majlsī (QARN 11)
M'ālī Al-Sebtein by
Maqatelu Ṭalibeen by 'Ali Ibni Al-Ḥusayn Al-Isfahānī known as Abulfaraj Al-Isfahānī (313AH)

Appendix D

Speech of Fadak by Fāṭimah Binti Muḥammad:[576]

"Praise be to Allah for that which He bestowed (upon us); and thanks be to Him for all that which He provided; from prevalent favors which He created, and abundant benefactions which He offered and perfect grants which He presented; (such benefactions) that their number is too much too plentiful to compute; bounties too vast to measure…I too bear witness that my Father, Muhammad, is His slave and Messenger, whom He chose prior to sending him, named him before selecting him, and selected him before sending him; when creatures were still concealed in that which was transcendental, guarded from that which was appalling, and associated with the termination and non-existence. For Allah the Exalted knew that which was to follow, comprehended that which will come pass, and realized the place of every Event.

Allah has sent him (Muhammad) (P.B.U.H) as perfection for His commands, a resolution to accomplish His rule, and an implementation of the decrees of His Mercy. So he found the nations to vary in their faiths, obsessed by their fires, worshipping their idols, and denying Allah despite their knowledge of Him. Therefore, Allah illuminated their darkness with my father, Muhammad (P.B.U.H), uncovered obscurity from their hearts, and cleared the clouds from their insights. He revealed guidance among the people; so he delivered them from being led astray, led them away from misguidance, guided them to the proper religion, and called them to the straight path.

Allah then chose to recall him back in mercy, love and preference. So Muhammad (P.B.U.H) is in comfort from the burden of this world, he is surrounded with devoted angels, the satisfaction of the Merciful Lord, and the nearness of the Powerful King. So may the praise of Allah be upon my father, His prophet, trusted one, the chosen one from among His creatures, and His sincere friend, and may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him.

After saying so, Fatima turned towards the crowd and said:

Surely you are Allah's slaves at His command and prohibition; you are the bearers of His religion and revelation; you are Allah's trusted ones with yourselves; and His messengers to the nations. Amongst you does He have righteous authority; a covenant He brought unto you, and an heir He left to guard you; That is the eloquent book of Allah; The truthful Quran; The brilliant light; The shining beam; Its insights are indisputable, its secrets are revealed; Its indications are manifest; and its followers are blessed by it. (The Quran) leads its adherents to goodwill; and hearing it leads to salvation; with it are the bright divine authorities achieved, His manifest determination acquired, His prohibited decrees avoided; His manifest evidence recognized; His satisfying proofs made apparent, His permissions granted, and His laws written. So Allah made belief to be purification for you from polytheism.

[576] Odeh A. Muhawesh's 'Fatima the Gracious.'

He made: Prayer an exaltation for you from conceit. Alms a purification for the soul and a (cause of) growth in subsistence. Fasting an implantation of devotion. Pilgrimage a construction of religion. Justice a harmony of the hearts. Obeying us (Ahl al-Bayt) management of the nation. Our leadership (Ahl al-Bayt) safeguard from disunity. Jihad (struggle) A strengthening of Islam…

O People! Be informed that I am Fatima, and my father is Muhammad (P.B.U.H). I say that repeatedly and initiated it continually; I say not what I say mistakenly, nor do I do what I do aimlessly. Now hath come unto you an Apostle from amongst yourselves; it grieves him that you should perish; ardently anxious is he over you; to the believers he is most kind and merciful. Thus, if you identify and recognize him, you shall realize that he is my father and not the father of any of your women, the brother of my cousin* [Ali (P.B.U.H)].

Thus, he propagated the Message, by coming out openly with the warning, and while inclined away from the path of the polytheists, struck their strengths and seized their throats, while he invited (all) to the way of his Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; He destroyed idols, and defeated heroes, until their group fled and turned their backs. So night revealed its dawn; righteousness uncovered its genuineness; the voice of the religious authority spoke out loud; the evil discords were silenced; The crown of the hypocrisy was diminished; the tightening of infidelity and desertion were united, so you spoke the statement of devotion amongst a band of starved ones; and you were on the edge of a hole of fire; (you were) the drink of the thirsty one; the opportunity of the desiring one; the fire brand of him who passes in haste; the step for feet; you used to drink from the water gathered on roads; eat jerked meat.

You were despised outcasts always in fear of abduction from those around you. Yet, Allah rescued you through my father, Muhammad (P.B.U.H); after much ado, and after he was confronted by mighty men the Arab beasts, and the demons of the people of the Book, who, whenever they ignited the fire of war, Allah extinguished it; and whenever the thorn of the devil appeared, or the mouth of the polytheists opened wide in defiance, he (P.B.U.H) would strike its discords with his brother (Ali, P.B.U.H) who comes not back until he treads its wing with the sole of his feet, and extinguishes its flames with his sword.

Ali is diligent in Allah's affairs, near to the Messenger of Allah. A master among Allah's worshipers, setting to work briskly, sincere in his advice, earnest and exerting himself (in service of Islam); while you are calm, gay, and feeling safe in your comfortable lives, waiting for us to meet disasters, awaiting the spread of news, you fell back during every battle, and took to your heels at times of fighting. Yet, when Allah chose His prophet from the dwell of His prophets, and the abode of His sincere (servants); The thorns of hypocrisy appeared on you, the garments of faith became worn out, the misguided ignorant(s) spoke out, the sluggish ignorant came to the front and brayed. The camel of the vain wiggled his tail in your courtyards and the Devil stuck his head from its place of hiding and called upon you, he found you responsive to his

invitation, and observing his deceits. He then aroused you and found you quick (to answer him), and invited you to wrath, therefore; you branded other than your camels and proceeded to other than your drinking places. Then while the era of the prophet was still near, the gash was still wide, the scar had not yet healed, and the messenger was not yet buried.

A quick undertaking as you claimed, aimed at preventing discord (trial); surely they have fallen into trial already! And indeed Hell surrounds the unbelievers. How preposterous! What an idea! What a falsehood! For Allah's Book is still amongst you, its affairs are still apparent; its rules are manifest; its signs are dazzling; its restrictions are visible, and its commands are evident. Yet, indeed you have cast it behind your backs!

What! Do you detest it? Or according to something else you wish to rule? Evil would be the exchange for the wrongdoers! And if anyone desires a religion other than Islam (submission to Allah) it never will be accepted from him; and in the hereafter he will be in ranks of those who have lost. Surely you have not waited until its stampede seized, and it became obedient. You then started arousing its flames, instigating its coal, complying with the call of the misled devil, quenching the light of the manifest religion, and extinguished the light of the sincere prophet. You concealed sips on forth and proceeded towards his (the prophet's) kin and children in swamps and forests (you plot against them in deceitful ways), but we are patient with you as is we are notched with knives and stung by spearheads in our abdomens. Yet - now you claim - that there is not inheritance for us!

What! Do they then seek after a judgment of the days of ignorance? But how, for a people whose faith is assured, can give better judgment than Allah? Don't you know? Yes, indeed it is obvious to you that I am his daughter.

O Muslims! Will my inheritance be usurped? O son of Abu Quhafeh! Where is it in the Book of Allah that you inherit your father and I do not inherit mine? Surely you have come up with an unprecedented thing. Do you intentionally abandon the Book of Allah and cast it behind your back? Do you not read where it says: "And Sulaiman inherited Dawood"? And when it narrates the story of Zakaria and says: "So give me an heir as from thyself; (One that) will inherit me, and inherit the posterity of Yaqoob" And: "But kindred by blood have prior rights against each other in the Book of Allah" And: "Allah (thus) directs you as regards your children's (inheritance) to the male, a portion equal to that of two females" And: "…If he leaves any goods, that he make a bequest to parents and next of kin, according to reasonable usage; this is due from the pious ones." You claim that I have no share! And that I do not inherit my father! What! Did Allah reveal a (Quranic) verse regarding you, from which He excluded my father? Or do you say? These (Fatima and her father) are the people of two faiths; they do not inherit each other? Are we not, me and my father, a people adhering to one faith? Or is it that you have more knowledge about the specifications and generalizations of the Quran than my father and my cousin* (Imām Ali)? So, here you are! Take it! (ready with) its nose

roped and saddled! But it shall encounter you on the Day of Gathering; (thus) What a wonderful judge is Allah, a claimant is Muhammad, and a day is the day of Rising.

At the time of the Hour shall the wrongdoers lose; and it shall not benefit you to regret (your actions) then! For every message there is a time limit, and soon shall ye know who will be inflicted with torture that will humiliate him, and who will be confronted by an everlasting punishment.

Fatima then turned towards the Ansars and said: O you people of intellect! The strong supporters of the nation! And those who embraced Islam; What is this shortcoming in defending my right? And what is this slumber (while you see) injustice (being done towards me)? Did not the messenger of Allah (P.B.U.H), my father, used to say: "A man is upheld (remembered) by his children"? O how quick have you violated (his orders)! How soon have you plotted against us? But you still are capable (of helping me in my attempt), and powerful (to help me in that which I request and in my pursuit of it). Or do you say: Muhammad (P.B.U.H) has perished; surely this is a great calamity; Its damage is excessive, its injury is great, Its wound is much too deep to heal, The earth became darkened with his departure; the stars eclipsed for his calamity; hopes were seized; mountains submitted; sanctity was violated, and holiness was encroached upon after his death. Therefore, this, by Allah, is the great affliction which is the like of it; nor will there be sudden misfortune (as surprising as this). The Book of Allah, excellent in praising him - announced in the courtyards (of your houses) in the place where you spend your evenings and mornings; A call, A cry, A recitation, and (verses) in order: It had previously come upon His (Allah's) Prophets and Messengers; (for it is) a decree final, and a predestination fulfilled; "Muhammad is not but an Apostle: Many were the apostles that passed away before him. If he died or was slain will ye then turn back on your heels? If any did turn back on his heels, not the least harm will he do to Allah; but Allah (on the other hand) will swiftly reward those who (serve Him) with gratitude."

O you people of reflection; will I be usurped the inheritance of my father while you hear and see me? (and while) You are sitting and gathered around me? You hear my call, and are included in the (news of the) affair? You are numerous and well equipped! (You have) the means and the power, and the weapons and the shields. Yet, the call reaches you but you do not answer; the cry comes to you but you do not come to help? (This) While you are characterized by struggle, known for goodness and welfare, the selected group (which was chosen), and the best ones chosen by the Messenger (P.B.U.H) for us, Ahlul-Bayt. You fought the Arabs, bore with pain and exhaustion, struggled against the nations, and resisted their heroes. We were still, so were you, in ordering you, and you in obeying us. So that Islam became triumphant, the accomplishment of the days came near, the fort of polytheism was subjected, the outburst of fabrication subsided, the flames of infidelity calmed down, and the system of religion was well ordered. Thus, (why have you) become confused after clearness? Conceal matters after announcing them? Turned on your heels after daring? Associated (others with Allah) after believing? Will you not fight people who violated their oaths? Plotted to

expel the Apostle and became aggressive by being the first to assault you? Do ye fear them? Nay, it is Allah Whom ye should more justly fear, if you believe?

Nevertheless, I see that you are inclined to easy living; dismissed he who is more worthy of guardianship (Ali, P.B.U.H.); you secluded yourselves with meekness and dismissed that which you accepted. Yet, if you show ingratitude, ye and all on earth together - yet, Allah free of all wants, worthy of all praise. Surely, I have said all that I have said with full knowledge that you intend to forsake me, and knowing the betrayal, which your hearts sensed. But, it is the state of the soul, the effusion of fury, the dissemination of (what is) the chest and the presentation of the proof. Hence, here it is! Bag it (leadership and) put it on the back of an ill she camel, which has a thin hump, with everlasting grace, marked with the wrath of Allah, and the blame of ever (which leads to) the Fire of (the wrath of) Allah kindled (to a blaze), that which doth mount (right) to the hearts. For, Allah witnesses what you do, and soon will the unjust assailants know what vicissitudes their affairs will take!! And I am the daughter of a Warner (the Prophet, P.B.U.H) to you against a severe punishment. So, act and so will we, and wait, and we shall wait."

Appendix E

‘Ali Ibni Abi Ṭāleb Will to His Children[577]

I advise you (both) to fear Allah and that you should not long for the pleasures of this world even though it may run after you. Do not be sorry for anything of this world that you have been denied. Speak the truth and act (in expectation) for reward. Be an enemy of the oppressor and helper of the oppressed.

I advise you both and all my children and members of the family and everyone whom my writing reaches Allah, to keep your affairs in order, and to maintain good relations amongst yourselves for I have heard your grandfather (the Holy Prophet S.A.W.) saying that “Improvement of mutual differences is better than general prayers and fasting.”

Fear Allah and keep Allah in view in the matter of orphans. So do not allow them to starve and they should not be ruined in your presence.

Fear Allah and Keep Allah in view in the matter of your neighbors, because they are the subject of the Prophet’s advise. He went on advising in their favor till we thought he would allow them a share in inheritance.

Fear Allah and Keep Allah in view in the matter of the Qur’an. No one should excel you in acting upon it.

Fear Allah and Keep Allah in view in the matter of prayer, because it is the pillar of your religion.

Fear Allah and Keep Allah in view in the matter of your Lord’s House (Kaaba). Do not forsake it so long as you live, because if it is abandoned you will not be spared.

Fear Allah and Keep Allah in view in the matter of Jihad with the help of your property, lives and tongues in the way of Allah.

You should keep to a respect of kindship and spending for others. Avoid turning away from one another and severing mutual relations. Do not give up bidding for good and forbidding from evil, lest the mischievous gain positions over you, and then if you will pray, the prayer will not be granted.

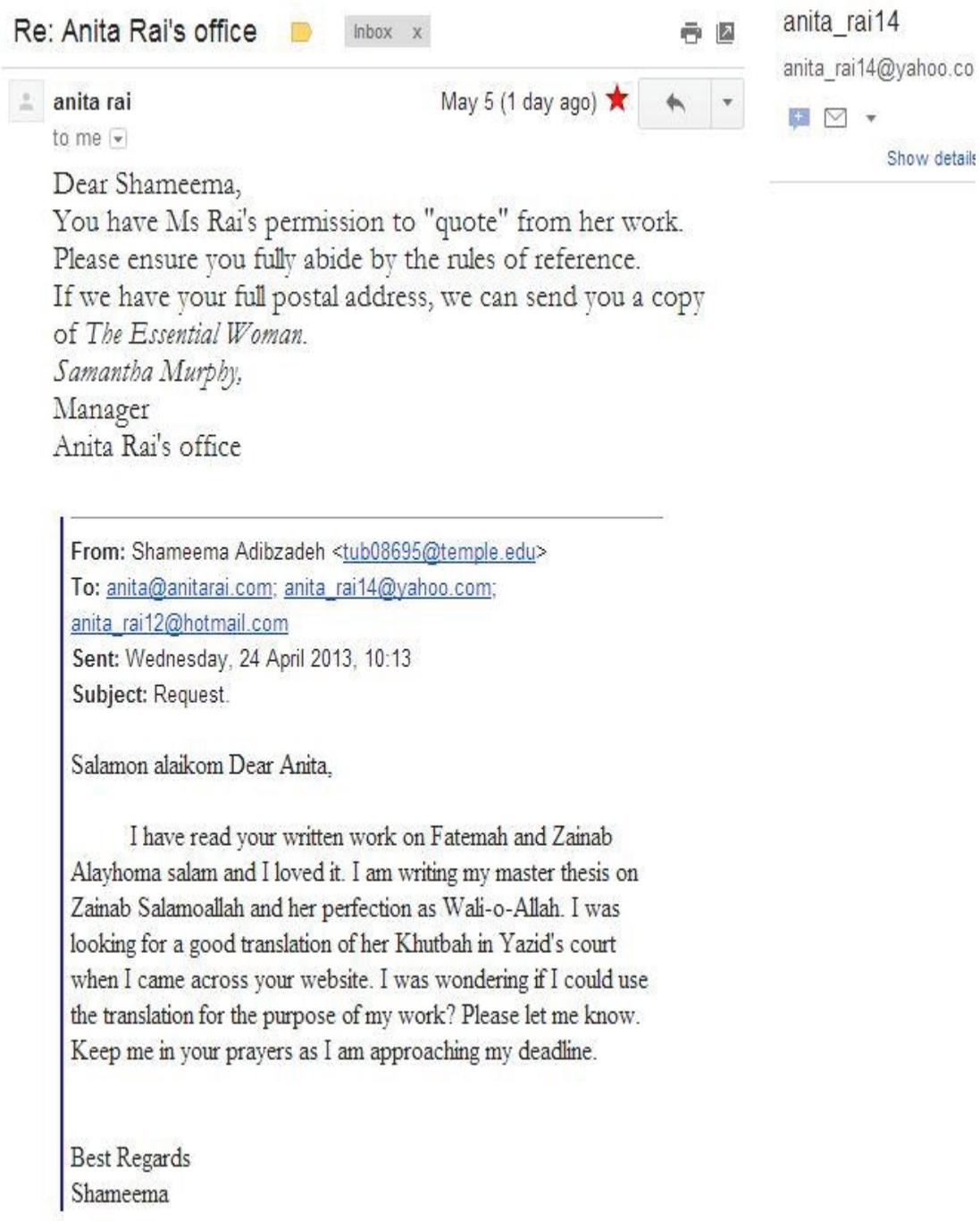
Then he said: “O sons of Abdul Muttalib, certainly I do not wish to see you plunging harshly into the blood of Muslims shouting: ‘Ameeral Momineen has been killed.’ Beware do not kill on account of me except my killer.”

Wait till I die by his (Ibn Muljim’s) existing stroke. Strike him one stroke and do not dismember the limbs of the man, for I have heard the Messenger of Allah S.A.W. saying, “Avoid cutting limbs even though it may be a rabid dog.”

---

[577] ‘Ali Ibni Abī Ṭālib, *Nahj Al-Balaghah,* letter num. 31.

Appendix F



Re: Anita Rai's office Inbox x

anita rai May 5 (1 day ago)

to me

Dear Shameema,
You have Ms Rai's permission to "quote" from her work.
Please ensure you fully abide by the rules of reference.
If we have your full postal address, we can send you a copy of *The Essential Woman.*
Samantha Murphy,
Manager
Anita Rai's office

From: Shameema Adibzadeh <tub08695@temple.edu>
To: anita@anitarai.com; anita_rai14@yahoo.com; anita_rai12@hotmail.com
Sent: Wednesday, 24 April 2013, 10:13
Subject: Request.

Salamon alaikom Dear Anita,

I have read your written work on Fatemah and Zainab Alayhoma salam and I loved it. I am writing my master thesis on Zainab Salamoallah and her perfection as Wali-o-Allah. I was looking for a good translation of her Khutbah in Yazid's court when I came across your website. I was wondering if I could use the translation for the purpose of my work? Please let me know. Keep me in your prayers as I am approaching my deadline.

Best Regards
Shameema

anita_rai14
anita_rai14@yahoo.co
Show details